Daily Report

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Alia Speaks in Bajram Curri 5 Oct

AU1110124589 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 6 Oct 89 pp 1-2

["The Party's Leading Role Increases Alongside the Role of the Masses"—Speech by Comrade Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at a rally in Bajram Curri, Tropoje District, on 5 October]

[Text] Dear brothers and sisters of Tropoje [cheers], the first words I wish to say to you are: How pleased I am to be here. [cheers]

Thank you for the warmth of your welcome, which shows your great love for our Albanian Workers Party, the boundless loyalty of the people of this region to it, and their determination to march on the socialist road. [cheers, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready"]

The party has sent me to talk with you, and at the same time to convey to the people of the town of Bajram Curri and all the Highlands of Gjakove warmest greetings and best wishes from the party Central Committee, the Government, and the Presidium of the People's Assembly. [cheers, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready"]

It is a particular pleasure that your district, its highlanders, and its working people of different sectors have achieved very high results this year in all spheres. Therefore, may you always be happy and prosperous. [cheers, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready"]

When coming here, among these imposing mountains, one's mind inevitably turns to history, the past, and the distinguished people who have come from this area, outstanding for their fidelity, wisdom, patriotism, and courage. As the birthplace of Mic Sokoli and Haxhi Zeka, Ali Ibra and Binak Alia, and a whole range of other warriors, Tropoje has gone down in history as one of the indomitable fortresses of the people's resistance to foreign invaders and injustice. In these mountains, just a short distance from here, Sylejman Vokshi, Hasan Prishtina, Isa Boletini, Azem Bejta and his wife, Jakup Ferri, and others defended the border. Tropoje gave the gun of justice to heroes of the national cause and to defenders of freedom. It shared with them its poverty and destiny. After the imposition of the Zogist monarchy, many patriots took the road of exile. Among the few to continue the struggle, even after the rising tide of the counterrevolution, was the great son of the common people Bajram Curri, who has given his name to your lovely town. [applause]

Fan Noli wrote of him:

There he began, and there he found rest,

There he fought, and there he fell.

In the village of Dragobi, he never surrendered his weapons, and his attention never wandered from the people. Against this background of the brilliant tradition of democratic and freedom-loving struggle, the message of the Albanian Communist Party found fertile soil to take root and flourish during our National Liberation War. The oath [beselidhja] taken by the Highlands of Gjakove, which united the people of this region in a new way, and by which they sealed their union with the party according to their own traditions, was one of the finest moments in the history of our National Liberation War. The people of Tropoje were entirely committed to the movement. The enemy found few mercenaries; treacherous organizations and divisive forces collapsed. The National Liberation War added new names to the list of heroic warriors, such as Iljaz Alia, Vehbi Nimani, Muse Kadrija, Murat Baci, and many, many others. Rame Kadrija followed in their footsteps, while the boys and girls of Tropoje are showing now and will always show the same determination in struggling to build socialism and defend the victories of the revolution. [applause]

Tropoje's history, struggles, and traditions must be praised, but the progress that Tropoje has made in the years of socialism has been magnificent. Not only in the immediate post-liberation years, but for some time later, there was no town of any kind here, not to mention electricity. The hydroelectric station which today bears the name Light of the Party did not exist. There were only wax tapers and candles. The River Drin and the mountains were considered to be a curse, whereas today they are a form of wealth exceeding all others.

I have visited your district several times, and I am thinking of the great changes which have taken place. Not to go too far back, I remember the year 1970, when our dear and unforgettable Comrade Enver Hoxha visited your district. [cheers, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready"] As you know, I was also here on this visit. Comrade Enver gave us many instructions then, and spoke about the better future in store for the Highlands of Gjakove and the development planned for different sectors of the economy and culture. Let me cite a few figures to show what steps forward have been achieved. Since 1970, industrial production has increased 17-fold; the number of working people with higher education has increased 8-fold, and with secondary education 9-fold. The incomes of the agricultural cooperatives have doubled, and 81 percent of elementary school pupils go on to secondary school, among the highest proportions in the republic. [applause]

It is a special pleasure to stress that, through your labor, these results are continually increasing. This year too, plans have been fulfilled well, especially in industry, in grain and fruit production, in the trade sector, and elsewhere. Let these results serve as a stimulus for further progress with redoubled energies, so that the life of the people will become ever better, and our socialist homeland ever stronger. [cheers, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready"]

Dear comrades, the successes of your district are part of the successes being achieved throughout the country. The contrasts with the past are evident everywhere. This

is due to the correct policy pursued by our party for the construction of socialism and to the self-denying labor of our heroic people. There is no need to cite figures and examples to show how agriculture has developed and industry has progressed, how the educational and cultural level of the masses has risen, and how the life of the Albanian has prospered. Within a short time, we have emerged from centuries-old darkness into light. We have now had for some time a dynamic and profitable economy, which is the foundation of the political and social stability of our country. We are progressing toward a carefully-prepared future, on the basis of a tried and tested political and economic strategy. We are masters of our own country, and stand unswerving in our resolve to live better by the sweet taste of our own bread and the honest sweat of our people. [applause, cheers]

The problems that come to us from abroad are not few. However, with our political unity, our economic strength and scientific skills of our people, we are in a position to confront and overcome them, adding to the people's prosperity. Socialism is the most effective system in the history of our people. This has been shown in practice. In this way, we have benefited the most from the labor of the people and our bountiful natural resources.

In socialist construction and the development of the country, the party has consistently followed the economic principle of self-reliance and the common property of the people. This basis has enabled us to fulfill the magnificent program of investment for these changes and such achievements on a national scale as soil improvement, marsh drainage, the construction of great steelworks and hydroelectric stations, electrification, the effective exploitation of mineral resources, railroad construction, the modernization of agriculture, and the development of education, culture, and science and their involvement with production. The funds for such distinguished achievements in socialist construction have been created by the people, with much sacrifice and self-denying labor; however, it is thanks to the party's line and Enver Hoxha's wisdom that the people were properly guided and that these resources were well-husbanded and used for the benefit of the future. [applause]

Without this policy and without this self-reliance, without the social property of the people, the Albanian economy would have remained the economy of an agrarian and pre-industrial country at the mercy of foreign capital, and completely exposed to today's crises in the world economy.

Our socialist achievements, which testify to the effectiveness of our socialist order, are growing and becoming richer with every day that passes. This is also happening in this jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation, the most prosperous year of this 5-year period. Developments are proceeding smoothly in every sector of the economy and culture. Up till now, the social product is 6.5 percent more than last year. The national income has increased by more than 10.5 percent. Production for social consumption has risen by 17.4 percent. The volume of foreign trade has risen 30 percent, and so forth. Such achievements, with all the statistics of our economy calculated together, compare well with the respective periods of the last two 5-year periods.

This proves the dynamism of our socialist economy and the healthy state of its development. The value of these achievements is even greater when we bear in mind that they have been secured entirely from our own resources, without any loans or aid from abroad, and that they have been attained at a time when other much larger and richer countries than Albania are up to their necks in debts and are suffering from crises and inflation.

The economy's achievements are also evident in improvements of supplies for the people. Retail turnover has now reached 1,300 million leks. There is no question now of difficulties in the supply of vegetables and eggs. We secure all these things for ourselves. We might say the same about milk and dairy products. Now, we must also put the question of the meat supply on the road toward a conclusive solution. The party is convinced that we can reach the desired turning point with more persistent and better organized work in increasing the number of small livestock, sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry, and with a better use of the fodder supply. It was possible, within a period of 3 years, to bring more than 90,000 cows and more than 420,000 small livestock into the brigades' small herds. Can it not be said that the cooperativist peasantry and the agricultural enterprises can solve the meat problem with the same sense of responsibility and determination? We express the confidence that there is every possibility. Taking your district as an example, every condition exists to double the flocks of small livestock. There is no lack of pastureland. You have many shepherds, and some of them are even famous throughout Albania, such as Islam Vatoci, and others. Cows and pigs are livestock, too, and could be increased and bred at a faster pace in your district. The same could be said of all the eastern and northeastern areas of the country, as well as Gjirokaster, Permet, Gramsh, Elbasan, and other districts of Albania.

Dear Comrades, as you know, the eighth party Central Committee plenum was held recently. This plenum assessed our achievements up till now, and set tasks for the future with a deep sense of responsibility, so that the party will always be in the vanguard of the struggle for socialist construction, and will always respond to the demands of the times. You have read the documents of this plenum, and I therefore see no reason to dwell on them further.

Our country, in all fields of social activity, is moving from development in breadth to development in depth; priority will no longer be given to quantity, though this will not be neglected, but to quality, to the faster introduction of up-to-date technology. All these changes, taken together, go to make a new leap forward, which in materialist dialectics is called a new thrust. This must be

first of all grasped by cadres and communists, but also by all the working masses in the towns and the countryside.

The fulfillment of the tasks confronting us at the present stage of our development requires further improvement in the work of the party, the state and economic organs, and the mass organizations in order to further promote socialism, preserving the purity of the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings. [applause]

Of fundamental importance is the further elevation of the party's leadership role through its correct line, which is always in conformity with the interests of the people and socialism, through the example set by communists, who should always be in the vanguard and the first to meet difficulties. Our party was born as the party of revolutionary action. It did not flinch before its historic mission even during the most difficult periods, even in the most difficult situation. We must further temper this spirit of revolutionary militancy. The successes of the party's line are due to its close ties with the people. The party's word carries weight and authority because it has always expressed and continues to express the best virtues of our freedom-loving and industrious people. [applause]

The party and the people in our country are bound like flesh to the bone. The party is the guiding force, but there can be no victories without the people. There is no socialism without the conscious participation of the working masses in all the varied fields of our activity. Therefore, the increased role of the party cannot be conceived without the increased role of the masses. This is where our socialist democracy is reflected in all its depth. Their duties, of the party and of the people, are just as indivisible as their historic responsibility for the destiny of socialism. Therefore, it must be understood by everyone that the Eighth AWP Plenum raises its demands not only to the communists, but to everyone, the workers, the members of cooperatives, cadres and specialists, young and old, men and women.

Socialist construction is not a simple process, nor is it an easy one. What is required from the party, cadres, specialists, and all the working people is knowledge and culture, as well as initiative and creativity. For this purpose, our development in all fields must be viewed in conformity with the country's conditions, bearing in mind at all times the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver. [applause]

Our party has never allowed itself to be nailed down by dogma. Everything that it has done, every step that it has undertaken has been calculated in conformity with the principles and also bearing in mind our country, Albania, the conditions of its economic and cultural development, its traditions, customs, the character and psychology of highlanders and city dwellers, of young people and women. This is what has protected us against making principled mistakes. This is what has made it possible for us to progress surely and to constantly improve the living standards of the people and advance the country's development. In the future, too, we will continue to follow this path in resolving the great tasks confronting us. Hence the great importance of the ideas expressed at the eighth plenum concerning the perfecting of management, stressing the use of economic methods and instruments, rather than of administrative methods of management, opposing bureaucracy and all that hinders the broad participation of the masses in resolving the problems raised by the times; giving broader scope to the action of the democracy of the masses and within the party. The plenum instructed that creative debate should be further developed and stimulated, that the ideas of the masses should be harvested, that their suggestions and observations should be listened to attentively, and that their initiative should be stimulated in all directions.

Socialism has brought many good things to the Albanian people, villagers or city dwellers, to women and men alike. But this matter has another side to it. What is the contribution made by every individual working person to the common good? These two aspects go together, they condition each other. Socialism has guaranteed work and schooling to everyone. It has freed them from taxes, from the anxiety of misery, and so forth. These and other victories are indeed historic ones. Bearing in mind the steps that we must climb, the tasks that we are faced with, we must further raise the militant spirit of people, strengthen their sense of responsibility at work, their proletarian discipline and socialist awareness, and the moral values of the workers, the peasants, and of the intellectuals. Work alone, creative work alone is the essence of every society. The work carried by out people in socialism, work that is freed from exploitation, is the driving force of our progress, our general prosperity, and the well-being of the working masses. Our AWP is a party enjoying great political and moral credit. It has gained this credit by leading through its revolutionary activity and through the example of its members. Every communist must bear this well in mind at all times. Militancy is a mandatory requirement of party membership. The party's doors are open to the most progressive people, to all those who devote themselves in full awareness to the cause of the people. [applause]

Comrades,

The resolute implementation of the decisions of the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum is also dictated by the development of events in the world. As was underlined at the plenum, the anti-communist has become more arrogant than ever. The bourgeoisie wishes and struggles to wipe out socialism from the face of the earth. The bourgeoisie on one side, and the renegades on the other, are trying to underrate and to throw mud at socialist values in a coordinated effort. Under these circumstances, the successful construction of socialism in our country and the progress of Albania, where the banner of Marxism-Leninism is kept fluttering high, are answers to and expose the slanders of the enemies, who are trying to present the failure of the revisionists and their crisis as a failure of communism. They show that

socialism does live on and progresses in theory and in practice, that it is the only alternative and hope for the salvation of the proletariat and of the people oppressed by capitalist exploitation and the neocolonialism of the imperialist powers.

Albania's political positions in the world are sound and enjoy respect. Our stands are conditioned by no one, except by our national interests. We accept orders neither from big countries nor small ones, and are appreciative of and resolutely defend our national sovereignty. We do not know the dependence and humiliation of foreign debts. As far as our party and government are concerned the highest law, the only law, is the will of the Albanian people. [applause] It is our duty to further strengthen these positions in order to guarantee at all times and in all circumstances the freedom and independence of the country.

The policy pursued by our party is a policy of peace and friendly cooperation with all those who respect the freedom, independence, and national sovereignty of Albania. In the same way that we demand from others that they should respect our country, its freedom and independence, we also know how to appreciate and, consequently, how to respect other peoples, their freedom and independence. We apply this principle to all countries. However, we stress this particularly with regard to our direct neighbors, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Italy. The interference of imperialist powers in the internal affairs of other countries in various forms has become fashionable. Moreover, encouraged by the reformist developments in the Soviet Union and some countries of the East, pressures are increasing on others to follow the Soviet road or to progress on the road determined by this or that big power. As it has done until now, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will progress resolutely, also in the future, only on the road dictated by its own conscience, the will of its own people, and its Constitution. Should anyone believe that present circumstances may be used to induce Albania to embark on the road of concessions, they will be making a severe mistake. Anyone believing this will find out that they do not know the Albanians very well. [applause]

As in the past, we wish to continue to live in friendship with all those who respect our people, their freedom, and their sacred rights. With Yugoslavia, too, we have always wished and continue to wish to live in peace and good-neighborliness. We have not interfered and we do not interfere in its internal affairs. However, we have a right to be concerned and to express our opinion when the interests of our socialist country are affected by developments in Yugoslavia or when the democratic rights and freedoms of our brethren who live in Yugoslavia are violated. [applause]

The changes in the 1974 Constitution by the Republic of Serbia brought about considerable changes concerning the rights of the Albanians. They were thus deprived of some victories achieved since the war, such as the declared equality between nations and nationalities, their autonomy was truncated, and the road was opened to broad discrimination against their language, culture, and intelligentsia. It is now a fact that any demand, even of a mere economic nature; any incident, no matter how banal, such as a fight between children, is declared to be a manifestation of separatism or Greater-Albanian nationalism, and penal procedures are instituted. Albanians are now denied even their historical past. What is not being said and what is not being done against them.

Hasan Prishtina, Bajram Curri, Isa Buletini, Luigj Gurakuqi, Shtjefen Gjecovi, Azem Bejtja, and countless other fighters against the Ottoman oppression, against the regime of the Karadjordjevics, and against King Zog are proclaimed to have been dangerous people, nationalists, and expounders of the Greater-Albania idea. It is a good thing that they are no longer alive, because today they would be differentiated, isolated, and even imprisoned. [applause] Our Republic, our people, can only condemn these acts, in the same way that they have condemned the murder of dozens of Kosovar boys and girls, and the imprisonment and persecution of thousands more.

What has currently emerged in the forefront of Yugoslavia's political stage are the hegemonistic and anti-federal pretensions of Serbia's leadership, countered by the resistance of the democratic forces to this course. Recent events in Slovenia show the great fear of the people's of Yugoslavia, lest the tanks that were sent to Kosovo may now turn to the North and that the state of emergency imposed in Kosovo may be imposed on others. We did say that the road of pressure and nationalist violence pursued in Kosovo would be turned into a dangerous policy for all the peoples of Yugoslavia. We had also voiced our opinion that the way of resolving the problems of Kosovo was that of quiet, free, and equal talks with the Albanians in Kosovo and of reaching acceptable conclusions benefiting all parties. We believe that this is also the way to resolve other national problems and conflicts that have currently arisen in Yugoslavia. A democratic solution would not only be in the interest of the people's of Yugoslavia, but also in the interest of its neighbors, since the stability of that country constitutes an important factor also for peace and security in the Balkans.

As far as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is concerned, it will spare no efforts to improve relations with Yugoslavia on the basis of noninterference, mutual equality, cooperation, and respect for the sovereignty of both parties in their own countries. Socialist Albania seeks good-neighborliness. This is an immutable line. Our policy has always been and continues to be a policy of peace and cooperation with our neighbors, with all the Balkan countries. We have workers and will continue to work with all our might in this direction. [applause]

Dear comrades,

The party knows the people of Tropoje to be bound to the party like flesh to the bone. I am expressing the confidence of the AWP Central Committee that you, the

highlanders and all the working people of this district, will place all your efforts in the service of further promoting the victories that have been attained, to further develop agriculture and livestock-raising, horticulture and mining, industry and education, culture and combat readiness.

The November jubilee festivities are approaching. The time that has been left must be characterized by a spirit of socialist competitions and revolutionary ambitions. The most active workers, most talented managers, the best collectives, and the most militant communists must strive for distinction. The party is convinced that in this effort for new achievements, new fighters for socialism will affirm themselves, setting an inspiring example of communist militancy.

The traditional Week of Enver lies before us. As has become customary, the example of communist awareness will shine during this week of powerful mass actions and of the creative force of the masses. May these actions become a reflection of devotion to socialism, a reflection of respect for Enver. [applause]

I wish from the bottom of my heart that the working people of Tropoje may become banner bearers in these movements and socialist competitions.

Long live our AWP, long live the heroic people of Tropoje. [applause]

Alia Speech to Puke District Cadres

AU1110185189 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 9 Oct 89 pp 1-2

["Excerpts" from the speech by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at a meeting with Puke District cadres on 7 October: "The Forestry Sector Must Operate as an Integrated and Complex System"]

[Text] In the afternoon of 7 October, Comrade Ramiz Alia had a meeting with district cadres from the party and state, the economy, the mass organizations, and the Army. We are publishing excerpts from Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech at this meeting:

I have been thinking for some time about coming to Puke. I have continually followed trends in your district. However, when one meets directly with the people, workers, cooperative members, cadres, and specialists, one learns so much more about the problems concerning them and the ways of resolving these problems.

As was stressed by the comrades who addressed this meeting, the 1989 plans have been satisfactorily fulfilled under most headings. Industrial production, the production of chrome, copper, timber, milk deliveries, and egg deliveries have even been overfulfilled. With regard to corn yields, too, you have set an example to all mountainous regions. The people are better supplied with daily consumer commodities. The experience of Qeleze is showing others, particularly those districts with pig-raising traditions, how to go about meeting the needs of the villagers for meat from small herds. I would advise you to disseminate this experience and remain in the vanguard.

I congratulate you on behalf of the Party Central Committee and bring you its warm greetings and best wishes for further successes.

After speaking about the intensification of the party's educational work, and particularly about the materials of the Eighth Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: I spoke about this matter in particular in Tropoje. I will not dwell on this at any length here, nor about the tasks arising in your district. However, I will draw your attention to the fact that, in working out the tasks arising from this plenum, and particularly in implementing them, you must be more specific. Let us take the question of militancy, for exa ple. This is a matter concerning everyone. It is not a matter pertaining only to certain categories of people, say the communists or the workers. Everyone, cadres, specialists, workers, or members of cooperatives, must view the work critically and the possibilities to give more to society. The same can be said about labor productivity. It must not be considered as an overall indicator, a matter of statistics. Labor productivity is essential the result of a complex of technical, material, and organizational factors, primarily a matter of labor, planning, and technological discipline. It is also closely related to the initiative of the masses and the struggle against bureaucracy. Therefore, when we talk about labor productivity, in no matter what sector, we must consider the matter deeply. The same can be said about the development of socialist democracy, independent action, and other matters arising from the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum.

Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to stress that the plenum's decisions must stimulate the revolutionary activity of all the working people, party members and nonmembers alike. He then went on to say:

I would like to say to you at this meeting that all problems arising in life must be viewed in conformity with the teachings of the plenum. Some of these problems are related to the forestry sector, which affects your district, but also other districts.

As a mountainous country, Albania has inherited a wealthy forest stock, covering over 1 million hectares and a reserve of over 80 million cubic meters of timber. Your district occupies a considerable proportion of this. We have here one of the largest forestry areas in the country, including rare species of trees. However, because of the disproportion between cutting and growing during the past 20 years, timber reserves have been reduced by about 8 million cubic meters in the country as a whole. Between 5,000 and 6,000 cubic meters of timber leave our forests every day. We are thus

consuming over decades what we have inherited over centuries. The time has come to stop and think about this.

We must choose without delay: either to reduce the exploitation of our forests or to increase their growth or to advance on both flanks at the same time. What is required is a real balance in nature, not on paper. If we are to believe the statistics produced during the month of afforestation, which in my opinion underrate the situation, it appears that the country has more than enough forests. This mentality of over abundance must be eradicated. With the present criteria of and practices of exploitation, our timber reserves are moving in the direction of absolute irreplaceable loss.

There is a lot of room for thrift in the timber and paper industry. The annual industrial production in this branch is worth about 900 million leks. However, despite improvements in technology, timber losses continue to be perceptible. They begin in the forest, during the cutting process, and continue in the processing of the timber. The coefficient of timber utilization is not more than 40-60 percent. Industry must roll up its sleeves and replace timber in construction, transportation, communications, in mines, and so forth. A lot is being said about ferroconcrete, glass, plastics, metal windows, coal, electricity, aluminum, and so forth, as replacements for timber. However, so far there is more talk and ideas than actual work and results.

For their part, the managers of the timber industry must not complain about the negative balance of timber. Instead, they should themselves adopt measures to make certain that the timber does not rot in the forests. About 100,000 cubic meters of timber fail to be transported out of the forests annually due to organizational shortcomings. There is a lot of talk about this, but the problem remains unsolved. The cutting down of timber beyond the transportation capacity must be condemned. It would be better, for the state and for the people, to redirect lumberjacks to other work in the forests, instead of allowing them to cut timber that cannot be transported. Why not regulate the matter in such a way that the plan is considered fulfilled only after the timber has reached its destination? Such rules to protect the forest and rationalize its exploitation must be established as soon as possible, resolving the transportation problem, improving planning methodology, and reducing the timber cutting plans.

Over 50,000 hectares of forests have been subjected to exploitation during the past 2 decades. Specialists have calculated that we have about 5 million cubic meters of timber in this area. If we were to apply what is known as final cutting, we would meet the needs of the economy for 4-5 years. However, it appears that forest biologists and those who exploit the forests have different interests. It is obvious that it is easier to cut prime quality timber in the new forest plots than it is to tackle final cutting in forests that have been exploited over a number of years. The first method gives high yields and provides easy plan fulfillment, while the second method requires greater care and attention for the development of the forest in conformity with biological requirements. Strict rules must therefore be imposed in the exploitation of forests, the practice of marking trees to be cut down must be reintroduced, and the laws protecting forests must be applied stringently. Let no one think that, since the forests are state property, the state cannot fine itself for the damage caused by its enterprises. As you see, these are problems that are also related to the Eighth AWP Plenum: Is the economy to be guided by economic methods or administrative commands?

The problem of the balance between the cutting down and the growth of firewood is becoming increasingly more acute. There is a gap here. The needs of the consumers are growing constantly, while natural growth does not meet these demands. While the natural increase of trees for the cutting of firewood is about 770,000 cubic meters annually, the amount cut is 1.6 million cubic meters. If we add to this the villagers' needs for firewood, which at the moment are neither planned nor calculated, then the proportion between growth and cutting lies at 1:3 and even more, instead of the official figure of 1:2.

The introduction of coal and other energy resources for heating purposes in the cities and in the villages of the lowland areas must be considered seriously. However, other ways must also be found to increase the growth of firewood in the forests. Why should little plots of quick-growing trees not be created near villages, on land that is unsuitable for agriculture, in order to increase firewood supplies? Even in the highlands, every village could be allotted an area of degraded forest, which the cooperative members could then improve, and thus secure their supply of firewood. The state must give up its ownership over such forests, making it available to the village for its own use.

Our forest economy must function as an integrated and complex system, and on the basis of contemporary concepts. We must increase our forests, pay attention to ecology, and we must increase the forest fauna. It must be said that too little is being done in this respect. They are considered to be secondary, if not tertiary activities.

About 800,000-900,000 hectares of forests and undergrowth exist throughout the country, which are suitable for livestock-breeding, but the number of livestock grazed there is far from using the entire potential. Throughout the northeastern part of the country, where about half the acreage of grazing forests exist, only about one-fifth of the goats are being grazed. Puke District could have 4-5 times more small livestock per unit of forest area. The mistaken concepts of some specialists that the keeping of small livestock is contrary to the tasks concerning the growth and protection of forests must be strongly opposed.

More care and attention should be paid to the exploitation of secondary by-products in the forests, as well as their handling and processing. The barbaric methods of

harvesting natural medicinal herbs must be stopped. It is necessary to cultivate the considerable area of natural undergrowth, wild roses, laurel bay, and other mountain flora as one would treat normal plantations. We could thus earn additional foreign currency from them.

In the field of forestry and the timber industry, a number of problems have arisen, which require coordination. The Forestry Directorate attached to the Ministry of Agriculture has recently been reorganized. However, I think that this entire activity, this wealth, must be viewed from the angle of the decisions of the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum. Are there regulations that have become outdated? Are problems dealt with through economic instruments, or are administrative methods still in use? Are there problems concerning standards, the system of wages and prices, both wholesale and retail, for timber products, are there problems concerning the economic and financial aspects of the matter, are there other problems pertaining to the administration of this great wealth? These are questions that need to be discussed, suggestions must be made, and solutions must be found.

Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to speak about the need for the party to explain new situations and developments to the masses. In conclusion, he said:

I am convinced that the cadres and specialists of your district, under the party's leadership, will further promote the achievements in the interest of the constant progress of socialism, the consolidation of the country's defense potential, and the increased well-being of our people.

Talks With Turkey To Open in Kuwait 30 Oct

AU1510161089 Sofia BTA in English 1542 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 15 (BTA)—Bulgaria's readiness for dialogue with Turkey was reaffirmed today by Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, at a news conference occasioned by the CSCE environmental protection meeting due to begin in Sofia tomorrow.

Mr Ivan Ganev said that Bulgaria was pleased with the emerging opportunity for a bilateral meeting. "Bulgaria has agreed to a meeting between the two countries' foreign ministers, Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Mesut Yilmaz, in Kuwait on October 30," Mr Ganev said. "We hope that a common approach will be identified at this meeting to ease tensions and to establish good-neighbour constructive relations without attempts at interfering in each other's internal affairs and attempts at harming the national interests," he went on to say.

Asked about the number of Bulgarian citizens who have left for and who have returned from Turkey, Mr Ganev said that 313,000 Bulgarian citizens have left for Turkey since the beginning of the year and that some 40,000 of them have repatriated to date.

The deputy foreign minister categorically dismissed certain Turkish journalists' attempts to blame Bulgaria for abusing her citizens' rights. He pointed out that everyone who wants to can see for himself how Bulgaria respects her citizens' rights and how this country honours all commitments assumed under the Vienna accords.

Atanasov Receives Visiting Russian Deputy Premier

AU0410193389 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 4 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers received today Mr Aleksandr Khomyakov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee of Planning, who is paying a business visit to this country.

During the talk the two parties exchanged information about the way of restructuring in Bulgaria and the Russian Federation. It was stressed that the processes of renewal open up new opportunities for the further enrichment of the all-round cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, the RSFSR included. Particular attention was paid to the possibility for deepening of direct relations in the sphere of economy. It was stressed that the all-round interaction carried until now in all spheres of economy is a good initial basis for an ever more dynamic development of the techno-scientifical cooperation.

A number of issues related to the preparation of a wide programme for deepening of the processes of integration between Bulgaria and the RSFSR were discussed at the meeting.

Khomyakov Ends Visit

AU0710151489 Sofia BTA in English 2029 GMT 6 Oct 89

["Learning About BCP Experience"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 6 (BTA)—According to the plan for interparty cooperation, from October 2 through October 6 a delegation of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU headed by Mr Aleksandr Khomyakov, member of the CC of the CPSU's Committee on Legislation Policy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR [Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) and chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Russian SFSR, paid a visit here.

At the talks, which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the guests were familiarized with the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] experience gained during the preparations for the restructuring of the sphere of legislation, and the activity of party, state and public bodies for guaranteeing order and lawfulness in Bulgaria. On their part, the guests informed their hosts about the CPSU work in the implementation of the legal reform in the Soviet Union.

Leaders Meet Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister

AU1010132489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Oct 89 p 6

[Text] On 4 October the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs met with Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Many topical issues related to the international situation as a whole and to the situation in certain world regions were discussed. Opinions were exchanged on strengthening cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR, with the view to implementing the initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member countries, and strengthening political dialogue, confidence, and mutual understanding among all world countries.

CPCZ's Stepan Urges More Direct Contacts

AU1210090989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Oct 89 p 2

[Interview with Miroslav Stepan, "member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPCZ Prague City Committee" by Boyko Vutov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO "special reporter": "We Need Open Dialogue"—in Sofia on 3 October]

[Text] Sofia, 3 October—Today a meeting took place between Ivan Panev, member of the Central Committee

Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee, and Miroslav Stepan, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] and first secretary of the CPCZ Prague City Committee, who leads a delegation, which is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the BCP Sofia City Committee.

Information was exchanged on the activity of the party organizations of the two capitals in the light of restructuring our parties and states. Improving cooperation between the two party committees also was discussed.

Temenuzhka Teofilova, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sofia City Council, awarded Miroslav Stepan with Sofia's honorary silver insignia—with ribbon—on his contribution to developing relations between the two capitals.

The guest answered questions from our editorial board representative:

[Vutov] Comrade Stepan, the CPCZ is preparing for its 18th Congress. How will your capital's Communists greet this congress?

[Stepan] At the present turning-point stage of socialism the preparations for this event pose new requirements both to the precongress campaign and the congress itself. I mean the atmosphere: It must be democratic, because the profound changes in economic and sociopolitical life that are envisaged cannot be conducted without the active and conscious participation of all citizens.

The party must lead the process, not only by announcing its stages, but also by its personal example and democracy within the party. Therefore we are preparing a new party statute for the congress. It will be broadly discussed at the forthcoming party accountability-election meetings and conferences. We are also preparing for nationwide discussion the new constitution, the socioeconomic program until the year 2005, and the basic elements of the new CPCZ program. All this will strongly influence the preparations of the CPCZ Prague organization, which has 159,000 members, for its accountability-election conference.

The fact that we enter the precongress period with specific basic premises for Prague's socioeconomic program until the year 2005 and an updated economic structure, is characteristic of our city. Those documents also represent the foundation of the future election platform, because general elections will take place after the congress, in May 1990. During this period, we shall discuss two draft laws—the Law on Prague, Capital of the CSSR Federation, and the Law on Prague, Capital of the Czech Socialist Republic.

To sum everything up—the preparation is taking place in an atmosphere of an open dialogue, both inside the party organization and among Prague public.

[Vutov] The "ecology" theme is one of the most topical issues recently. In Prague this issue is related to the efforts to protect the significant cultural and historical heritage. What do you do in this sphere?

[Stepan] Ecology is a problem throughout the world, including the CSSR. The solution of the problems that have emerged, also must be jointly sought.

Today the ecological issue means more than polluted air and water. The issue includes the noise in the streets—the rattling streetcars and the horns of the cars—and the apartments that have not been repaired properly or on time. Ecology also means to protect the historical monuments. We have a great ecological program in Prague. We concluded the first stage, in which we invested Kcs350 million. It involved the restoration of the Royal Path area in the city center. The second stage, which we will conclude in 2 years, will include the restoration of the buildings and areas adjacent to Charles Bridge, while the third stage relates to Mala Quarters, whose reconstruction will require Kcs2.5 billion. The ecological projects also include the construction of a tunnel under Strahov Hill, through which all the Mala Quarters traffic will be directed, and turning the entire center of Prague into an ecologically clean pedestrian area.

[Vutov] Let me ask a traditional question about cooperation with our capital and with the BCP Sofia city organization. I hope that you can say something untraditional about this cooperation, in the spirit of the new time....

[Stepan] We agree with our hosts that glasnost requires saying that in the past we did not utilize all possibilities for efficient contacts. We must be happy that we note this truth, that we are aware of it, and that we can speak about it. This is the foundation upon which we must think about what we must do in the future for our mutual benefit. I think that we must get rid of the classical cooperation agreements and complex programs and plans.

The most important thing is to initiate together things in areas in which we can achieve specific results. For example, this is the issue of exchanging various kinds of information. The world has entered the era of the information society. Therefore, it would be abnormal not to know about our documents, plans, and developments, and not to exchange experiences. Somebody could say—big deal, you could have done this a long time ago! However, until now we have not done this....

We talk a lot about direct contacts between enterprises. However, we must relinquish the command-style methods and dictating who must establish contacts with whom. Let informal relations develop, say, in the form of seminars, or let managers of enterprises that want to cooperate and need each other, meet. We do not know who they are, and this is better, because if we point them out a priori, we shall return to the old practice.

We think that the capitals of the socialist countries have great importance in their states, a fact that will not change in the future. Since society has now begun to actively acquire a political character—the people are interested in everything—I think that our parties also must acquire a political character. Despite the fact that this may sound like a paradox—to give political character to political parties—I think that more politics within the parties is needed. For this purpose it would be necessary for the leaders of our party organizations to meet more often. Therefore we proposed that a meeting of the first secretaries of the party organizations of the European socialist countries' capitals take place in Prague. However, this meeting must not follow the past practice—let us meet without 50 aides, 50 reports, and huge communiques. The important thing will be to really exchange thoughts on the basic issues and open a new page in our relations.

Italian Drug Experts' Visit Related to Bust

AU0610201589 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 6 (BTA)—This week two representatives of the Italian drug combat authorities paid a visit here. They came to Bulgaria in connection with the interception of 35.5 kg heroin found on September 17, 1989 by the Bulgarian customs officers in a TIR [Transport International de Marchandises Par la Route] truck bearing Turkish license plates. According to the driver, a Turkish citizen, the narcotic was to be transported to Italy.

The Italian specialists visited the Kapitan Andreevo Border Checkpoint, where they had the possibility of examining and taking pictures of the special hiding-places in the truck which carried the narcotic. They had talks with representatives of the investigating authorities.

At the guests' request an official meeting with responsible representatives of the Bulgarian drug combat authorities was held. The two sides discussed the possibilities for cooperation between the specialized departments of the two countries in this field.

After the meeting Mr Italo Grapone, deputy head of the Central Drug Combat Department, said, "I have already thanked to the Bulgarian authorities for the invitation gladly accepted by us, because we are interested in laying the beginnings of an active cooperation with the Bulgarian police. Your country can make a great contribution by playing the role of a barrier against the narcotics which are smuggled from the Middle East to Italy in particular and to the West European countries in general".

'Serious Shortcomings' Found in Economic Plan

AU1210161989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 11 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Most Effective Organization, Flexibility, and Frugality"]

[Text] An expanded meeting of the Council of Ministers took place on 10 October. In addition to the members of the government, the meeting also was attended by the chairmen of the executive committees of the oblast people's committees, chairmen of associations, chairmen of committees, leaders of other central departments, and leaders of major companies.

On the basis of the report read by Comrade Petko Danchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, the participants assessed the implementation of the 9-month plan and specified the tasks for the period until the end of the year. After stressing the complexity of the situation in which economic activity is taking place during the year, and the willingness with which the people are participating in overcoming difficulties, Comrade Petko Danchev informed them that 74.4 percent of the planned production has been carried out during the 9 months. Some 82.1 percent of the total profit envisaged for the entire year has been realized. In comparison with the same period of last year production has increased 103.2 percent, net profit 109 percent, and social productivity of labor 111 percent. It was especially pointed out that the highest results have been achieved in September. In comparison with the same month of 1988, production per person engaged in the production process has increased 8.5 percent.

Certain serious shortcomings were pointed out against this background. They relate to the slow growth in certain basic branches and areas of production (metallurgy, mineral resources, heavy-machine building), the unsatisfactory situation of the domestic market, the insufficient implementation of the plans for export and foreign currency, and revenue. The envisaged increase in producing goods for the market was not implemented, and subsequently, there is an acute shortage of milk and dairy products, knitwear, children's clothes and footwear, television sets, washing machines, and other goods. Consumer goods have been produced of an amount that is 800 million leva less than envisaged. The import of such goods has decreased because of well-known reasons.

The lag in implementing the annual export plan is alarming. Only 55.5 percent of the plan has been implemented. The annual plan for the foreign currency receipts has been 71.6-percent implemented. At the same time the foreign currency expenditures are increasing. Industrial reconstruction is slowly proceeding and the desired positive changes in the investment process have not materialized.

The progress of harvesting was analyzed in detail. Some 950,000 metric tons more wheat and barley have been

received than were received in 1988. Significant quantities of corn, grapes, apples, and sugar beet are still to be harvested. A smaller quantity of tobacco was grown. The yield of milk is decreasing. Nevertheless, the food industry has marked a 4.1 percent increase.

Great difficulties are caused by the shortage of material resources. A significant lag is emerging in implementing the plan for the production of cement until the end of the year. Significant changes related to efficiency have not taken place in the companies. It is imperative to conduct a precise analysis at all levels and in all companies and departments to work out timetables, apply flexible forms of organization, and seek an immediate solution to the questions and difficulties that have emerged.

Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, pointed out in his statement the decisive problems on which the successful implementation of the plan depends first of all, and he stressed that there is no reason for lesser concern. The problems relate first of all to the implementation of the plan for the export and foreign currency receipts, second, to the situation in the market, and third, to the most efficient use of the available resources. He demanded that we immediately work out specific programs for action until the end of the year and direct the resources toward the areas in which they are mostly needed. He pointed out that during the difficult current 3-month period we will need the most efficient organization, rapid reaction to specific situations, and flexibility.

Nikola Todoriev, chairman of the "Energetika" Association, read a report on preparing the power supply system for work under winter conditions and provided additional information. The preparation of the power supply system was already begun in March with the implementation of a major repair program, expected to end by the end of October. Some brief interruption in electric power supply has been caused by the temporary repair of certain capacities and the cold weather that began earlier this year. Those interruptions will be eliminated in the next few days. Among other things, it was clarified that the rumors related to the export of electric power are not true. It is especially important that the thermoelectric power plants have been supplied with fuel. The "Varna" Thermoelectric Power Plant is the only exception, but its supply with fuel is continuing, and efforts are being made to obtain an additional quantity of coal from the USSR. Unfortunately, there is less water in the river dams than in 1988. On the other hand, the overfulfillment of the plan on supplying the population with coal is a positive phenomena.

Summarizing the results in this exceptionally important area of the national economy, Comrade Georgi Atanasov spoke about the necessity to continue the practice of regulating the use of electric power, something for which specific organization, a strict regime, and control are necessary. This relates to all ministries and departments, certain people's councils, companies and their departments, offices, and of course, all families. The frugal use of electric power must become a lifestyle for every citizen. As far as preparing for the winter is concerned, it is obligatory for the entire national economy; it is necessary to review all areas until the end of October. With the decisions it has adopted on this matter, the Council of Ministers demands that we conclude on time the repair of the power supply capacities and implement the additional measures related to ensuring the necessary reserves of coal and liquid fuel. The executive committees of the people's councils, with the "Energetika" Association, are obliged to adopt measures by 20 October on regulating the use of electric power in the spheres of material production, services, and everyday life. The mass media are called upon to contribute to intensifying the clarification of the issue of the frugal and efficient use of electric power and other energy resources, as well as to conduct a campaign of public criticism against the waste of energy.

Among other things, it was announced that at one of its next meetings the Council of Ministers will especially review the situation on the domestic market with the view to adopting real measures related to improving the supply.

CTK Statement Criticizes Chancellor Kohl Speech

LD1310212289 Prague CTK in English 2021 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 13 (CTK)—Addressing the opening ceremony of the 41st book fair in Frankfurt on October 10, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl made a number of attacks against socialist states, including Czechoslovakia, which can be classified as interference in the internal affairs.

The speech of Helmut Kohl is unacceptable for Czechoslovakia for its approach and content. With a number of formulations and statements it resembles the period of the Cold War and does not reflect the present need for extending confidence, detente and building the Common European Home. It grossly interferes in the Czechoslovak internal affairs, giving lesson in international relations in an unprecedented way.

We wonder where Chancellor Helmut Kohl takes justification and courage to "give a hand to all nations in the Eastern continent on their difficult way towards freedom". Czechoslovakia received a helping hand from the Soviet Union in the worst times when it fought against the spirit of Munich and fascism, for freedom, the right to self-determination and state existence.

The distorted explanation of the realization of the right to self-determination of nations of Czechoslovakia and other states in the chancellor's speech ignores the fact that these nations freely realized their right to self-determination by creating independent states. Non-respect of this right is at variance with the principle of sovereign equality of states and the principle not to interfere in the internal affairs, enshrined in Article no.2 of the U.N. Charter and in other international documents.

Instability in Europe is caused mainly by those who are not willing to recognize these states with all necessary attributes and who call, under various pretexts, for interference in the internal affairs. Calls of this type help create political platforms of revenge. They grossly ignore generally valid and internationally recognized legal norms. They are an opposite to tolerance, confidence and peace cooperation for which the states of Europe are striving.

It is incomprehensible why Chancellor Helmut Kohl casts doubts on the present borders in Europe, confirmed also by the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which are, as it is well known, the borders of independent and sovereign states. Such approaches to the building of Europe of the future are not only unrealistic but even dangerous. They should not be found in the political vocabulary of statesmen.

We support and develop the idea of the Common European Home, proceeding from the realities of the present time when there are two different social systems in Europe which should participate in the construction of united, peaceful Europe. This can only be achieved by mutual tolerance and confidence, not by superiority and dictate of one system over another.

The tone and content of the passages from the speech of Helmut Kohl addressed to Czechoslovakia do not correspond with the spirit and letter of the 1973 Treaty of Mutual Relations, the CSCE process, in which Czechoslovakia and West Germany actively participate. They cannot help create the favourable atmosphere for the development of good-neighbourly relations. In a broader context they evoke reminiscences of bitter experiences of the Czech and Slovak people from the recent past.

Such speeches do not help lower tension, are at variance with generally valid principles of relations between sovereign states, the spirit of Helsinki and the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting. They do not help extend a dialogue at a time when our neighbouring countries should exert every effort to construct mutual relations on a constructive basis, on the basis of mutual advantageousness, strengthening of international security, confidence and cooperation.

FRG Book Fair Prize for Havel 'Political'

LD1410221789 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] The West German book fair prize this year has a political motivation. Assessing its background, a Radio Prague commentator writes that the nomination of Vaclav Havel for this year's award became the precondition for anti-Czechoslovak and antisocialist attacks on the part of some forces in West Germany, including the Bonn government and West German chancellor Helmut Kohl. His opening speech at the 41st Book Fair in Frankfurt-on-Main can be only interpreted as a rude interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. It is absurd that this interference was identified by Helmut Kohl as his obligation. The obligations to fight for freedom, independence and human rights have become the platform of the Western supporters of Vaclav Havel, who has become a symbol for them in their care for life in the neighboring socialist countries. Thus this campaign overshadows the main aim of the Fair, namely books, and the main concept of the International Book Fair in Frankfurt-on-Main.

A financially sufficient prize for Mr Havel thus becomes a sort of compensation for the failure to award him with the Nobel Prize. This time it is only a case of political abuse of an international prize. Numerous attacks on Prague voiced in Frankfurt are undermining the concept of a creation of a common European home which has become a hope for a better future for many Europeans.

Kohl 'Lecturing', Havel Acceptance Criticized

LD1510231889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Commentary by correspondent Jiri Halousek on the 41st international book fiar in Frankfurt]

[Text] Feder[illegible] Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, has been to Frankfurt twice during the course of this year's international book trade fair. After a 5-year interval, he

attended the fair's opening last Tuesday and was present this morning at the presentation of the so- called annual peace prize awarded by West Germany's book trade.

One might ask the question: Has his interest in literature increased suddenly? It appears not, judging at least by what functions the West German chancellor in fact attended and also what he said on those occasions. During his opening speech last week he had enough scope to declare his love for literature, but he left it rather to others and he himself concentrated on political questions. He, of course, could not be reproached for doing so, had he not acted in a somewhat partisan fashion. When speaking, for instance, about the process of rapproachment among European nations, although declaring at the beginning that the West Europeans had no right to impose on their neighbors in the east and southeast of the continent their notions about life, he said in the same breath that they cannot at the same time bar those who want to join capitalist society, and as he said, in his view this is the desire of all of them. The European idea can allegedly be carried out only on the basis of the values created by Christianity and the enlightenment. Both Helmut Kohl's entire speech and the political atmosphere of the Frankfurt trade fair up to today's presentation of the main literary prize proceeded then in this spirit. Volker Hauff, as the mayor of Frankfurt, declared at St. Paul's Church, where the ceremony took place today, that Vaclav Havel, this year's prize holder, was far from awarded merely for his activity as a writer and playwright but above all for his political and personal stands. One is, of course, a moral appreciation while the other one is a specific material support, for along with the ostentatious diploma, the prize also carries the tag of 25,000 marks.

To some people this would seem enough, but not to Vaclav Havel. In a broadcast for West German television immediately prior to the direct relay from Frankfurt, although politely thanking for the honor bestowed on him, he added nonetheless that the mentioned amount was far from being enough for the further development of the so-called independent literature in Czechoslovakia. He even called directly for new financial gifts. There was apparently in it some dissapointment that he did receive an even fatter reward in the form of a Nobel Prize, for which he was proposed by some of his supporters abroad this year.

The issue is really not what this year's holder of the West German book trade's prize said but rather that the whole action was misused, and one can say directly that it was manufactured as a pretext for lecturing certain socialist countries, above all Czechoslovakia and the GDR, and for attacks on socialism in general. Chancellor Helmut Kohl said when opening the trade fair: When the issue is liberty, human rights, and self-determination, then we have not only the right but the duty to intefere in internal affairs.

One can convince oneself that he, and not only he alone, knows how to do it. It, of course, also depends on how one perceives the terms liberty and human rights. And as far as self-determination is concerned, this is understood here in the German Federal Republic, above all, as the right of the Germans to their old homeland, which is especially dangerous not only for Czechoslovakia but for the whole of Europe.

Further on Adamec, Nemeth Hydroproject Meeting

AU1310143589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 89 p 1

[Report by CTK and "jv": "About the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Hydroproject"]

[Text] Prague (CTK and our correspondent)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, arrived by air with his party for a brief working visit in the CSSR on Wednesday evening [11 October]. In Prague the same day, Comrade Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, held talks with the Hungarian guest. Ladislav Adamec gave a gala dinner in his honor in the evening. Miklos Nemeth then left for home.

At Prague Ruzyne Airport the Hungarian guest was welcomed by Comrade Ladislav Adamec, members of the Federal Government, and other officials. The ambassador of the CSSR to the Hungarian People's Republic, Vlastimil Ehrenberger, and the ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the CSSR, Miklos Barity, were also present.

Shortly after 1700, L. Adamec and M. Nemeth met in Hrzane Palace in Prague and began official talks. First, the two premiers held a 60-minute one-on-one meeting. Afterward, the exchage of views continued in the presence of delegations.

After 1900 the two premiers met with Czechoslovak and foreign journalists. L. Adamec noted that the Wednesday's visit links onto the talks held in Budapest in July, at which the two premiers agreed that they would meet after the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] Congress and consult on a number of issues, including the joint Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroproject. He noted that the talks were characterized by the endeavor to have good relations between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, that these relations would continue to strengthen and expandg, because they are long-term, traditional, and have always been friendly.

On the problems connected with the construction of the Gabcikovo- Nagymaros hydroproject he said that the Czechoslovak Government's opinion is that the 1977 agreement needs not be revised but, on the contrary, must be fulfilled. He noted that Hungarian scientists have been drawing attention to some problems of ecological nature. "In order to have clear conscience before the future and be able to look our people straight in the eye, we agreed that we would once more—in detail and honestly—assess scientists' expert reports and weigh recommendations, and meet again before the deliberations of the Hungarian Parliament at the end of the

month. The hydroproject is an immense investment and deserves maximum attention, and therefore I accepted M. Nemeth's proposal to consult once more with the scientific front and conclude the matter by the end of the month. This is the conclusion we arrived at—it cannot be said that it is a sort of big success, but in talks certain patience is of importance. Closed doors are difficult to open; it is better to leave them a bit open. I am convinced that we are both interested in objectively assessing matters and finding a solution that would suit both sides," the CSSR premier said.

Asked by Czechoslovak Television how talks have been going about a possible change of the Czechoslovak koruna's rate of exchange vis-a-vis the forint, L. Adamec answered that deputy finance ministers have already met. Thus far, they have not succeeded in reaching agreement. The talks will continue.

During the meetings with the journalists M. Nemeth said that during the one-on-one talk he had extensively informed L. Adamec about the first HSP Congress, about its atmosphere and the nature of discussions.

"We expressed appreciation for the fact," M. Nemeth said, "that this year the premiers have met three times already, and that we are not only discussing problems connected with the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project, on the realization of which the views of the Hungarian and the Czechoslovak Academies of Sciences differ. At the same time, we noted that other agreements—on economic and cultural cooperation—are being successfully fulfilled.

"Despite that, there have been different views on some issues, which we want to resolve in a nontraditional way, employing new forms and methods of work. In view of our nations' position in Europe, the duty of our governments is to raise the level of their cooperation."

On the issue of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroproject he said that the two sides have submitted their standpoints, the Czechoslovak Government sticks to its view that the project is to be completed in the original form; the Hungarian side has accurately elucidated the essence of its standpoint, according to which the completion of the hydroproject would cause an ecological emergency situation for both sides. "We have submitted concrete proposals for abandoning the construction of the Nagymaros project and the minimalization of ecologic consequences from the hydroelectric power plant's peak operation. At the same time, we submitted a proposal to install a monitoring system as well as to modify the 1977 government agreement," the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic said.

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During the talks, Evzen Vacek, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Istvan Oszi, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, signed Agreement on Mutual Recognition Education-Related Documents.

X X X

The talks were attended for the Czechoslovak side by Pavel Hrivnak, CSSR deputy premier and premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic; Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs; Marian Calfa, minister of the CSSR Government; Vlastimil Barus, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; and Vladimir Lokvence, commissioner of the CSSR Government and the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic for the construction and operation of the System of Water Works on the Danube.

The Hungarian side at the talks was represented by Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Laszlo Udvari, state secretary in the Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications, and Construction, and commissioner extraordinary for the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroproject; Istvan Oszi; Peter Szonyi, deputy minister, head of the Bureau for Issues of Socialist Economic Cooperation; and Istvan Lang, general secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The ambassadors of the two countries, Vlastimil Ehrenberger and Miklos Barity, attended.

Union Daily Views Outcome of Hungarian Congress

AU1310140189 Prague PRACE in Czech 12 Oct 89 p 6

[Juraj Racz commentary: "On the Changes to One Party; The New Political Situation in the Hungarian People's Republic"]

[Text] The establishment of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], which arose as a consequence of the congress that had originally been convened by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee, has brought about a completely new political situation in our southern neighbor's country. The unusually dramatic events and the extraordinarily stimulating and, first and foremost, contradictory 4-day proceedings—which can be characterized by the fact that the first 2 days saw the last MSZMP congress and the last 2 days saw the first HSP congress—brought one era in Hungary to a definitive end. This had been a period characterized by the existence of the MSZMP, which evolved 33 years ago under the unusually complicated conditions of 1956. During more than 3 decades, the party has experienced very complicated periods and, particularly in the last few years, the mounting problems, difficulties, and failures began to exceed all the positive things that had been achieved up to that time. The crisis situation manifested itself to its full extent at the conference last May and it was only a matter of time before it came to a head.

A new factor, the Hungarian Socialist Party, has thus appeared on the complicated Hungarian political scene,

a scene extraordinarily packed with, sometimes, unforeseen events. This is a party which in its adopted viewpoint has declared itself to be the successor to the best traditions of the socialist and communist movement and which has acknowledged the heritage of the values of the past, the ideas of the homeland, and the ideas of progress. Its evolution did not come as a great surprise to the majority of the delegates, nor did it come as a surprise to observers or journalists. Long before the congress began, especially on the part of the extremely active reform circles, voices could be heard calling for the renewal of party life, a life which recently had lost not only its capability for action but also its unity and the people's trust. It was only a matter of whether the MSZMP would be renewed at the congress or whether a new party would be founded.

Understandably, such a turnaround could not remain without consequences and outbursts of passion. While the representatives of the influential reform platforms were demanding even more radical changes, some of the delegates had already accepted with ill will the fact that the word "workers" was to be erased from the party's name. Many also had reservations about the fact that the proceedings were transferred from the hall to the corridors and lobbies and that those who did not belong to some of the platforms were not properly informed even about such important issues such as, for example, the list of candidates for the new presidium, which, according to expectations, Rezso Nyers was elected to head by an overwhelming majority of votes. This 66-year-old politician, who after many years has again returned to the party leadership, showed himself during the course of the congress proceedings to be a most authoritative personality and, as an experienced politician, also managed to intervene at those times when the proceedings had threatened to degenerate into a settling of accounts.

The trade unions have also reacted to the new situation. They have defined the changes as a natural manifestation of the process of the country's social and political democratization but they have pointed out that it is not immaterial for the trade unions what kind of appearance the new leftist party will have, a party that in its name declares itself to be socialist but—at least, not according to its name—not at all a workers party. There is also the question of how much it will be willing to represent the interests of those masses in whose name to date—at least, in its policy statement—the MSZMP acted. The new policy statement that has just been adopted is intended to be a test for the new party—how it will react to the demands of the trade unions, which in the past 10 months, in the interests of more than 4 million trade unionists, have put forward their ideas, demands, and requirements to the government. In this complicated situation, extraordinary responsibility also falls upon the trades unions which represent the largest organized force in today's Hungary.

Hungarian Congress Delegates Interviewed

AU1110121389

[Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 10 October on page 7 carries a 1,000-word article by Gejza Vilcek entitled "The Talk Here Is About Something Else." In the article, Vilcek reports on his interviews or attempted interviews with three delegates to the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party in Budapest. In the introduction, Vilcek quotes statements made in the congress debate, according to which the time limit set for individual contributions makes it impossible "to develop standpoints on economic policy," the "slogans of democracy, law-governed state, and socialism are not enough to bring about the economy's recovery," and "workers are waiting for changes that will help overcome the economic crisis." Vilcek goes on to say that very few delegates discussed economic problems at the congress, which is why he requested three of them to "express their views on ways of overcoming the economic crisis in the light of the congress deliberations." Only one of them, Ilona Tatay, general director of the Taurus factory and a former member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Politburo, was reportedly ready to grant Vilcek an interview. In the replies which Vilcek quotes, Tatay praises the "current process toward a law-governed state and democracy in Hungary" as "immensely beneficial for the economy." Until now, Tatay is quoted as having said, the economy has not been governed by laws but by norms and rules determined by various government institutions, norms and rules which used to be "changed every year, according to the short-term interests of individual branch groups." According to Tatay, the demands of party resolutions, which were binding for party organizations, were also "rather changeable." In the remaining part of the interview, Tatay discusses the economic situation of the Taurus factory. She also mentions that she agrees with the program of the newly established Hungarian Socialist Party and regards herself as its member.

Two other delegates—Robert Burgert, director of the well-known Babolna agricultural combine, and Ede Horvath, general director of the Raba Gyor factory, reportedly declined to give Vilcek an interview. When approached, Robert Burgert reportedly remarked: "What could I tell you? Do you not see that one does not talk about the economy here? The talk here is about something else."

Border Ratification Papers Exchanged With Poland

AU1310180689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 89 p 3

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] On Tuesday [10 October] in Prague, Pavel Sadovsky, CSSR first deputy foreign minister, and Woldzimierz Mokrzysczak, the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Polish People's Republic

to the CSSR, exchanged ratification papers on the agreement between the CSSR and Poland on the state borderline and border waterways. The agreement is the result of the joint activity of both countries' experts and supplements the broad collection of contractual documents between our states.

Jakes Meets With Warsaw Pact Representatives

LD1310165589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee general secretary, had a meeting in Prague with Colonel-General Nikolay Zotov, the outgoing senior representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Treaty states' Joined Armed Forces attached to the Czechoslovak Ministry of National Defense, and Col-Gen Yevgeniy Kondakov, his replacement.

They discussed ensuring the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact and cooperation between their armies.

FRG Bundestag Defense Committee Official Visits

AU1310111989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Deputy Erwin Horn, head of the SPD group in the FRG Bundestag Defense Commitee, arrived in Prague on Sunday [8 October] at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee. On the agenda of his visit are talks with representatives of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee and the public, as well as with military experts.

Gives News Conference, Ends Visit

AU1310194589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 89 p 1

[CTK report: "SPD Representative on His Visit to the CSSR; Security Is a Common Affair"]

[Excerpts] Prague—"At present, there no longer exists any security protecting the states against themselves or protecting one state vis-a-vis another; there is only mutual, common security. The majority of West German citizens fully realize this fact," said Erwin Horn, head of the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] group of deputies in the FRG Bundestag Defense Committee, who paid a visit to the CSSR at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, in an interview with journalists in Prague on Wednesday [11 October].

He highly valued the fact that he was the first Bundestag deputy to have the opportunity to visit a formation of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA], namely, the motorized infantry regiment in Louny. In that connection, he favored the further strengthening of personal contacts among members of the armies of the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries.

E. Horn also held talks with representatives of the CSLA and Czechoslovak military experts, who are taking part in the Vienna talks. "I have ascertained a number of identical views on the Vienna process," he said. "We agree that we must go beyond the current stage, that it is necessary to talk about further far-reaching disarmament and about the changes in the structures and organization of the armed forces in West and East, in order to completely eliminate the possibility of an unexpected attack on both sides. What is involved is a substantial reduction of the number of tanks, combat helicopters, artillery, heavy army engineering equipment, and, of course, air forces. Our view is that the Vienna talks should also address the issue of nuclear weapons. The SPD favors the unilateral withdrawal of nuclear artillery and believes that in such a case the Warsaw Pact states would do the same. Nuclear devices should at least be removed from the territories of those countries which do not possess them." [passage omitted]

E. Horn concluded his visit to the CSSR on Wednesday.

Ethiopian Party Delegation Visits 11 Oct

AU1310193789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] Prague (z)—Miroslav Zajic, secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, on Wednesday [11 October] received a delegation of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] headed by Alenu Abebe, member of the Politburo of the WPE Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

In a comradely talk they briefed one another on some topical tasks of their two parties' agricultural policy. The guests were particularly interested in the application of the new economic mechanism in the agriculaural and food complex, in the way issues of the social and economic development of the countryside are being resolved, and in the implementation of scientific-technical development in the agricultural and food complex.

The WPE Central Committee delegation visited leading agricultural enterprises in the Central and East Bohemian regions.

URO Delegation Returns From Africa 9 Oct

AU1110214189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefly From Home" column]

[Text] A Central Trade Union Council [URO] delegation headed by Ivan Gonko, member of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Presidium and URO deputy chairman, which had been paying a visit to Zaire, Congo, and Ghana, returned home yesterday. At the end of its stay in Africa, the delegation held talks in Accra with leading representatives of the Organization

for African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) about the current difficult situation on the African continent and about the problems and tasks facing the African trade union movement. The delegation signed a plan for future cooperation between URO and the OATUU.

Opposition Groups To Nominate Dubcek for President

AU1510152289 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 14-15 Oct 89 p 3

["wst" report: "CSSR Opposition: Dubcek for President"]

[Text] Prague—Renowned representatives of CSSR opposition groups have decided to do everything to nominate Alexander Dubcek, the symbol and leader of the 1068 Prague Spring, as candidate for the next presidential elections in 1990. This decision was made by the opposition members on the fringe of the events honoring Vaclav Havel on his being awarded the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade in Frankfurt.

CPCZ Presidium Meets, Views Army, Relations

LD1310185189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee discussed at its session today the course of the annual member meetings of primary organizations of the party and the social political situation in the country. It was acquainted with a report on the participation of a CSSR party and government delegation at the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the GDR. It was stressed yet again that GDR is a well-tried and reliable partner, neighbor, and ally, with whom the CSSR actively develops cooperation in all spheres, strengthening comradely internationalist relations between the CPCZ and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED].

The Presidium of the Party Central Committee also acquainted itself with the contents of the deliberations between federal premier Ladislav Adamec and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, which was held in Prague on Wednesday. It fully supported the policy of the CSSR Government.

The Presidium went on to assess the work of party organizations in the Czechoslovak People's Army and discussed the analysis of implementing the leading role of the party in the Czechoslovak People's Army in implementing the conclusions of the 17th Congress of the party and its strengthening following the 18th Congress. It noted that action ability of the Army party organization has grown further and that its influence in all spheres of life and work of the Czechoslovak People's Army has deepened. Predominantly positive results have been achieved in implementing the main aims of the Congress guidelines, worked out at an All-Army Party Aktiv following the 17th congress of the party.

The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee also acquainted itself with a report on the fulfillment of tasks of the Czechoslovak People's Army in the training year 1988 - 89 and the main tasks of the Czechoslovak People's Army for the training year 1989 - 90.

The presidium then discussed the intentions of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade in restructuring the customs system and its interlinking with the other instruments of the economic mechanism. It noted that these intentions, whose aim it is to activate the economic role of customs, contribute toward increasing openness of the Czechoslovak economy.

Church Role in Drafting Constitution 'Considered'

AU1110210789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Domestic Briefs" column: "Reception by M. Calfa"]

[Text] CSSR Minister Marian Calfa received Auxiliary Bishop Antonin Liska, assigned representative of Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, [place and date not given] and informed him on the progress of work on the new constitution. At the same time, they considered the possibilities of the participation of the Roman Catholic Church in the drafting of the new constitution or, where appropriate, in the drafting of follow-up laws concerning the position of churches and religious communities.

Two Charged Over Illegal Newspaper

LD1310184289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] According to information from Major Jiri Belohlavek, spokesman for the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the National Security Corps Investigator in Prague has begun criminal proceedings in connection with the edition and dissemination of the so-called "LIDOVE NOVINY" illegal newspaper for the crime of incitement under Paragraph 100 of the Penal Code.

With the agreement of the prosecutor, he ordered house searches which were carried out yesterday, during which documentary evidence was found, and today two citizens of Prague have been charged with the above crime on the basis of the evidence accumulated.

Dissident's Appeal 'Postponed Indefinitely'

AU1310134989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report: "The Public Session Is Postponed Indefinitely"]

[Text] Brno—On Wednesday [11 October] a public session of the criminal proceedings against the accused Stanislav Devaty took place before the appeal committee of the regional court in Brno.

In view of the fact that it could not be proven that the accused had received the court summons and because the accused did not show up, at the suggestion of the regional prosecutor and the accused's defense, the public session was postponed indefinitely.

The subject of the proceedings should have been a discussion of the accused Stanislav Devaty's appeal against the verdict of the district court in Gottwaldov where he had been found guilty of the criminal offense of incitement and where he had been given an unconditional sentence of 20 months imprisonment to be carried out in the first corrective educational group.

Representatives from the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation and from the Vienna-based International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights participated in Wednesday's public session.

Intrastate Gas Pipeline Lacks Pipes

AU1310195389 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 12 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] CTK—Czechoslovakia is currently taking delivery of almost 8 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually, which flows through the transit gas pipeline from the Soviet Union. This—until now—maximum flow capacity for our needs is to increase to 10 billion cubic meters; transit for West Berlin, the GDR, and Yugoslavia will also be expanded. This increase in deliveries via the transit gas pipeline also brings about the need to further expand our intrastate gas pipeline network. Therefore, we have started constructing the important gas pipeline from Veseli nad Luznici to Prague. The primary objective is to create prerequisites for increasing the reliability of the transfer of natural gas in the central section of the transit system and to boost the gas supply in Prague. However, in case of a possible breakdown it is important to have the southern and central sections of the gas pipeline interconnected. The total length of the gas pipeline from Veseli nad Luznici to Prague is 114.5 km, and one will have to cope with obstacles such as a railroad line, roads, and such like. The great problem is that there has been a shortage of the basic pipe material since the start of construction.

Reshuffle in Prague CPCZ City Committee

AU1310193189 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 10 Oct 89 p 2

[Summary] In a secret ballot on 9 October the ninth session of the Prague CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] City Committee elected Karel Ramajzl as the new secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee for party work in industry. The secretary to date, Vaclav Kucera, was released from that post "in connection with his taking up a leading economic function."

Basic Military Service Cut 25 Percent

AU1310135389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 89 p 2

[Jarmila Houfova commentary: "Six Months Less!"]

[Text] As early as in August, in his speech on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising in Banska Bystrica, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, spoke of contemplations about shortening military service. Now, at the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session, he was specific: military service will be reduced by 6 months! As Comrade Milos Jakes, with members of the CPCZ Central Committee paying exceptional attention, said on Wednesday [11 October], the State Defense Council recently decided not only to cut defense expenditure 10 percent in the next 5-year plan, but also to submit to the Federal Assembly a proposal to shorten basic military service to 18 months!

There is no doubt that not only recruits, but also our entire public will welcome this step, because it is of both domestic political and foreign political, as well as of economic significance. The lower the defense expenditure, the more we can invest in the social and economic development of our society and solve our urgent issues.

In order for this to happen, all efforts of the leadership of the state and the CPCZ had been oriented toward establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the NATO and Warsaw Pact states, for which the CSSR had called. A coordinated effort of the Warsaw Pact countries had been directed toward this end for many years.

This year measures of great political importance were being adopted, which reflect the endeavor of our state aimed at relaxing tension in international relations and strengthening peace in Europe. Let us recall that the reduction of defense expenditure and the organizational changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army mean that about 20,000 troops are being transferred from combat units, above all, to construction organizations, that some tank and air force regiments are being dissolved, and combat hardware scrapped. Soviet shorter-range nuclear missiles were withdrawn from our country, the number of Soviet military units was reduced. All this is a joint concrete investment in the disarmament process, in building a peaceful, secure European home.

General Notes Inadequate Discipline in Army

AU1210124789 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No. 40 of 5 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by Colonel General Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army: "Dukla's Legacy Is Binding"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] No sensible person can expect the Soviet Union and its allies, our country

included, to keep on unilaterally disarming forever. If they are to continue this process, then the West, too, must adopt corresponding measures. When reducing numerical strength, our duty is to comply with the demand for the CSLA's [Czechoslovak People's Army] high-grade combat preparedness in accordance with the defensive character of the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine, which at present means: going over from the quantitative aspects of our Army's development to qualitative aspects, and improving the technology, equipment, and the material-technical support of troops. This has to be done with fewer people, less equipment, and lower expenditure for the country's defense. This process has already begun in our Army, and will be consistently implemented in all spheres of its life. That, too, is an integral part of restructuring, which is under way in the Czechoslovak Armed Forces today. [passage omitted]

A critical analysis of problems which have been occurring during the [training] year, and the adoption of effective measures aimed at resolving them have, in their total, led to positive changes asserting themselves in the Army's life, changes which have manifested themselves in predominantly good and excellent results in combat and political preparedness, in the exercises of staffs and troops, in an improved maintenance of weapons and combat technology, and in an increased economization. However, thus far these changes have not so markedly affected discipline, the relations among soldiers, and the organization of the troops' life. [passage omitted]

We want every member of the CSLA to be able to assess the present international situation from class positions, and from this to proceed with his activity. This cannot be done without fundamentally restructuring the ideological work itself, a matter that is being currently done in the Army. The everyday political work, the increasingly frank dialogue about all aspects of restructuring both in society and the Czechoslovak Armed Forces contributes to the fact that an ever increasing number of soldiers of the CSLA are realizing their place in society and their responsibility for the defense of the socialist fatherland and socialism. [passage omitted]

Construction 'Stagnating', Tasks Unfulfilled

AU1310111189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 89 pp 1,3

[CTK report: "Session of the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission; Comprehensive Housing Construction Behind Schedule"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The 16th session of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] which was held in Prague on Tuesday [10 October], presided over by its chairman Jaroslav Hajn, discussed the control report on how Communist ranking personnel and party organizations in selected central bodies in the Czech SR, the Slovak SR, and the CSSR, and the organizations run by them, have been fulfilling the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress on comprehensive housing construction.

In the past 3 years, the departments run by the Czech and Slovak Ministries of Construction and the Building Industry completed 142,277 apartments, which constitutes 93 percent of the planned tasks. The greatest shortfall is in the construction organizations building apartments in Prague, where 2,062 apartments have not been completed, and in Bratislava, where the shortfall constitutes 1,804 apartments. The plan for the volume of construction work and deliveries is also not being fulfilled in respect of amenities and infrastructure projects. The unfavoravble development continues this year, despite the fact that the CSSR Government has reduced the tasks for construction of apartments with the aim of having construction work progress smoothly. [passage omitted]

The nonfulfillment of the tasks in the sphere of comprehensive housing construction is the consequence of inadequate management efficiency in the capital investment sphere and of the stagnating, and sometimes even declining performance of the Czechoslovak construction sector. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Appearances for 28 Sep - 4 Oct

AU0810204389

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 29 September to 5 October report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, Karel Hoffmann, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zajic, attended a national day reception given by the GDR ambassador in Prague on 4 October. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Oct 89 p 1)

Frantisek Pitra, accompanied by Ivan Knotek, attended the opening of an exhibition entitled Days of the Bavarian Economy in Prague on 4 October. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Oct 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee, received Cheddi Bharat Jagan, general secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, in Prague on 29 September. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Sep 89 p 1)

Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received Allen Kassof, director general of the American International Research Exchange (IREX) Association, and Charles Gati, a professor at Columbia University Research Institute for International Relations, in Prague on 28 September (PRAVDA 29 Sep 89 p 2) He addressed a meeting of the chairmen of party primary organizations in Nymburk District on 4 October. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Sep 89 p 1)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, attended the opening of an exhibition at the GDR cultural center in Prague on 28 September. (PRAVDA 29 Sep 89 p 2) He attended the opening of a new section of the Kralovy Dvur-Bavoryne motorway in Beroun on 29 September. (PRAVDA 30 Sep 89 p 2)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the CPCZ South Moravia Regional Committee, presented the Order of Labor and a congratulatory letter to Frantisek Navratil, secretary of the South Moravian Regional National Committee, on the occasion of his 50th birthday in Brno on 3 October. (RUDE PRAVO 4 Oct 89 p 2)

Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, chaired a session of regional party secretaries on the development of the party's cooperation with the other parties, in Prague on 4 October. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Oct 89 p 2)

Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, chaired a session of the CPCZ Central Committee Legal Commission in Prague on 4 October. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Oct 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, presented a congratulatory letter to Frantisek Hlahulek, a pre-war party member, in Prague on 29 September. (VECERNI PRAHA 29 Sep 89 p 3)

Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, attended a regional party aktiv in Usti nad Labem on 28 September. (PRAVDA 29 Sep 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, departed for China at the head of a trade union delegation on 28 September. (PRAVDA 29 Sep 89 p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister for national defense, attended and addressed an ideological conference marking the 45th anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla operation in Prague on 28 September. (PRAVDA 29 Sep 89 p 2) He received media representatives on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla operation in Prague on 3 October. (RUDE PRAVO 4 Oct 89 p 2)

Frantisek Kincl, CSSR interior minister, attended a reception for successful Czechoslovak athletes in Prague on 3 October. (RUDE PRAVO 4 Oct 89 p 8)

Leaders' Appearances for 5 Oct - 11 Oct

AU1310211089

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 6 to 11 October report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Gustav Husak, received an army delegation headed by Army General Milan Vaclavik, on the occasion of Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA) Day and the 45th anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla operation at Prague Castle on 5 October. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Oct 89 p 1)

Gustav Husak, accompanied by Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, Vladimir Herman, Pavel Hrivnak, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Ignac Janak, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zajic, attended a reception marking CSLA Day at Prague Castle on 5 October. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Oct 89 p 2)

Army General Milan Vaclavik, accompanied by Frantisek Kincl, took part in a wreath laying ceremony in Prague on 5 October. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Oct 89 p 2)

Army General Milan Vaclavik hosted a friendly meeting marking CSLA Day and the 45th anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla Operation, a meeting which was attended by Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, Gustav Husak, Milos Jakes, and Miroslav Stepan in the Cernin Palace in Prague on 5 October. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Oct 89 p 2)

Pavel Hrivnak, Ignac Janak, Frantisek Pitra, and Milan Vaclavik attended festivities marking the 45th anniversary of the battle at Dukla Pass, in Svidnik on 7 October. (PRAVDA 9 Oct 89 p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, attended a United Agricultural Cooperative district conference in Trnava on 7 October. (PRAVDA 9 Oct 89 p 1)

Pavel Hrivnak, Ignac Janak, Frantisek Pitra, and Milan Vaclavik attended a ceremony at the Dukla Museum in Svidnik on 6 October. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Oct 89 p 2)

Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, and Miroslav Stepan greeted Milos Jakes at Ruzyne Airport on his return from the GDR in Prague on 7 October. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Oct 89 p 6)

Ivan Knotek and Frantisek Hanus addressed a seminar on joint ventures in the CSSR in Prague on 9 October. (PRAVDA 10 Oct 89 p 1)

Karel Urbanek and Miroslav Stepan addressed a Prague party committee session on 9 October. (PRAVDA 10 Oct 89 p 2)

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Jozef Lenart, received Rolf Hagel, the Swedish Commuist Party chairman in Prague on 10 October. (RUDE PRAVO 11 Oct 89 p 1)

Frantisek Hanus, Ignac Janak, and Karel Urbanek chaired sessions of CPCZ Central Committee commissions in Prague on 10 October. (RUDE PRAVO 11 Oct 89 p 3)

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Ladislav Adamec, Vladimir Herman, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Ignac Janak, Jozef Lenart, Miroslav Stepan, and Miroslav Zajic attended a session of the People's Chamber in Prague on 10 October. (PRAVDA 11 Oct 89 p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, in the presence of Pavel Hrivnak and Jaromir Johanes, held talks with Miklos Nemeth in Prague on 11 October. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Oct 89 p 1)

Frantisek Hanus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee secretary, received Boris Belousov, USSR minister for the defense industry, in Prague on 6 October. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Oct 89 p 1)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee, presented the Order of Victorious February to a party official, in Brno on 5 October. (PRAVDA 6 Oct 89 p 2)

Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak Socialist Republic premier, presented the Order of Labor to Ludovit Kilar, the Slovak education minister, in Bratislava on 5 October. (PRAVDA 6 Oct 89 p 2) He attended a concert in Bratislava on 8 October. (PRAVDA 9 Oct 89 p 2)

Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, chaired a session of the CPCZ Central Committee Foreign Policy Commission in Prague on 9 October. (PRAVDA 10 Oct 89 p 1) He received a delegation from the Swiss Workers Party in Prague on 9 October. (PRAVDA 10 Oct 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received a delegation of selected military units on the occasion of the 45th annivarsary of the battle at Dukla Pass in Prague on 4 October. (VECERNI PRAHA 5 Oct 89 p 1) He received Kurt Seibt, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Auditing Commission, in Prague on 10 October. (RUDE PRAVO 11 Oct 89 p 3)

Miroslav Zajic, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting on agriculture and food in Breclav on 6 October. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Oct 89 p 2) He attended a United Agricultural Cooperative district conference in Gottwaldov on 7 October. (PRAVDA 9 Oct 89 p 1) He received Alem Abeb, Ethiopian Workers Party Politburo member, for talks on cooperation in agriculture, in Prague on 11 October. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Oct 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, returned from an official visit to China on 5 October. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Oct 89 p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR foreign minister, hosted a reception for Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR, marking the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties in Prague on 10 October. (RUDE PRAVO 11 Oct 89 p 3)

Honecker Says 'Open Dialogue' Planned

LD1310150989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1349 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Party of Germany] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, informed the chairmen of the befriended parties and the president of the National Council of the National Front about the most recent session in the SED Central Committee Politburo which, following the 40th anniversary of the GDR, discussed further preparations for the SED's 12th party congress.

As the published statement says, the Politburo takes as its starting point the discussion of fundamental questions of further social development in the GDR with all citizens, all democratic forces of our country, in light of the results achieved and of the newly arising requirements. It is a matter of jointly finding the answer to how we meet the challenges of the nineties, which are not easy, in order to cross the threshold to the next millenium with a strong socialist GDR. Erich Honecker said at the discussion on current tasks in further shaping a developed socialist society in the GDR that the next meeting of the Central Committee would set out to the entire people the SED's proposals on this. It is a question of continuing the unity of economic and social policy, economic performance capability and its use for all, democratic living together and committed work, good supplies of goods for the population of the GDR and payment which does justice to performance, down-to-earth [lebensverbunden] media, travel possibilities, and a healthy environment. It is a question of our republic's contribution to the securing of peace in the world.

As before, we are guided by the principle of doing everything with the people and everything for the people, Erich Honecker said. Precisely for that reason what has been tried and tested must be preserved and what is outdated or impedes us must be overcome and the new tasks must be tackled boldly and decisively.

Everyone has their place in the GDR, irrespective of their social origins, ideology, and religion. Socialism provides scope for the unfolding of the personality of each person. For this reason no one is left indifferent when citizens, for whatever reason, renounce our country. Here in their homeland every GDR citizen can contribute through their own work toward making socialism ever more attractive. In this spirit we will also discuss the problems facing us in an open dialogue. We consistently bear in mind the aim of the welfare of the citizens and their peaceful future.

The SED is convinced that, as in the past 40 years, the parties allied with it, all the social forces working in the democratic bloc and in the National Front will meet their decisive joint responsibility with dedication and further increase their independent contributions for the benefit of the socialist fatherland and its citizens. Our alliance is one of the most valuable achievements which we have jointly created. It has proved to be equal to all the challenges, ranging from the antifascist- democratic transformation and the building of the foundations of socialism to the shaping of the advanced socialist society of the present. This will also be the case in the future.

The chairmen of the allied parties and the president of the National Council of the National Front stressed that the points made in the statement by the SED Central Committee Politburo meet with full support. The GDR is the work of all classes and groups, all parties and organizations under the leadership of the party of the working class, and it will continue to advance on its path in this way through our joint action. This is in harmony with the vital interests of the people, with the lessons of German history. Only in this way can it be guaranteed that our own humanist ideals and motivations, the revolutionary traditions of the German peasants, the social consequences drawn from the Christian ethos, the concerns of liberal, national, and bourgeois-democratic persuasions can be brought to bear in a meaningful way.

The chairmen of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany [DPD], the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU], the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], and the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] stressed that the statement by the SED Central Committee Politburo will enable them to define the further fulfillment of their own party resolutions. It saddens us and the members of our parties that people who grew up in our country, who had a secure existence and future here, have parted with their homeland. We agree with the SED that the reasons can also be sought here. However, this does not obscure our view of the fact that many of those who turned their back on the republic in the past few months were victims of an unprecedented campaign of hatred directed against the GDR, by which the FRG's imperialism is trying to shake socialism, as the most important stay of peace in Europe, to its foundations. The members of the friendly parties give the same answer as members of the SED to revanchist and neo-Nazi circles in the FRG, who will never reconcile themselves to the existence and development of the GDR and who today are increasingly calling for the restoration of the "German Reich within the borders of 1937" by fresh deeds to strengthen and reliably protect socialism on German soil.

We share the SED Central Committee Politburo's viewpoint of clearly distancing ourselves from those who want to misuse GDR citizens for attacks against socialism. Whoever consciously seeks and stirs up confrontation is acting against the people's interests, harms social life, and is pursuing very selfish political goals. But the citizens of our country want to go about their work in peace and order, to participate in the life of society, and to bring up their children in security.

The balance sheet that could be drawn up on the republic's 40th anniversary bears witness to the attitude of the 490,000 members of the friendly parties. This includes

significant contributions to intensifying the national economy, to scientific and technical progress, to the development and application of key technologies, as well as in cultural life. Above all, what has been achieved in improving repairs, services, and supplies, for promoting cooperative and private tradesmen and trade bears the signature of members of the friendly parties.

We have at our disposal a comprehensive system of socialist democracy which enables everyone to cooperate in the discussion and solution of social problems. Now it is a matter of all people's representations, all social bodies turning more actively to the interests of the citizens. The commissions of the National Front play a large role in this. Experiences show that where they are active jointly with the deputies and the state organs in close contact with the people, where they speak openly about what can be done and what has not yet been implemented, then there is good progress.

The sides recalled that the appeal for the local elections has become, by means of the vote for the candidates of the National Front on 7 May 1989, the action program for the current legislative period of all forces united in the socialist people's movement. It contains a broad spectrum of the tasks of local politics, whose realization by the local people's representations and their councils must be constantly organized and controlled. Where that is not yet the case, it must take place. It is therefore a matter of acting as written by us together in the election appeal: It remains decisive for the cooperation of all citizens how they acquire concrete information on the aims of our policy and on communal tasks and how their proposals and ideas are taken up and responded to. It follows that each person who bears political responsibility in our society is obliged to listen attentively to what moves the citizens and what gives them cause for thought. We must come to an understanding together over what can be done to achieve improvements in the everyday life of our community.

One may say, Erich Honecker said, that we are also entering the fifth decade of the GDR with concurring aims. As far as the SED is concerned, it will further strengthen its ranks in preparation for its 12th congress, and ally itself even more closely with the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, and with all citizens. What remains decisive is to staunchly adhere to our basic values, not allow any undermining of socialism in the GDR, but to steadily continue to perfect it through our strategic concept of continuity and renewal, through far-reaching changes and reforms. The parties and organizations united in the democratic block and the National Front of the GDR will actively conduct with all citizens a public discussion on the shaping of a developed socialist society, above all about the fact that increasing economic performances are the precondition for further consistently steering the course of the unity of economic and social policy. We do not need "advice" on "improving" socialism, which in reality has the aim of eliminating socialism. In our view, socialism in the GDR is not up for discussion.

Erich Honecker commented on the proposals of the executives of the allied parties on preparing the 12th SED Congress, which touch on all spheres of life. They are aimed at continuing the unity of economic and social policy, the further shaping of socialist democracy in its many forms; they deal with the perfecting of the management and planning of the economy, the implementation of the principle of pay according to performance, environmental protection, the steady improvement of repairs and services, spiritual-cultural life, raising the authority of people's assemblies and their committees. All of these proposals are being carefully examined.

Erich Honecker said in conclusion that all citizens are asked to take part in the pre-congress discussion with their ideas, proposals, and initiatives. Our motto "Join in working, planning and government!" is more topical than ever.

The chairmen of the friendly parties and the president of the National Council of the National Front replied that they want to devote themselves with all their strength to the discussion of the further fashioning of a developed socialist society in the GDR. Mastering this historical process of far-reaching political, economic, social, and cultural changes requires constant innovation as well as realism and objectivity. Like the SED we start from the premise: GDR socialism and peace, democracy and peace belong together for ever. Nothing and no one can divert us from this.

The participants in the meeting said they will solve the tasks before us in tried and trusted cooperation within the democratic block and the National Front. Taking part in the meeting were the chairmen of the DPD, Dr Guenter Maleuda; the CDU, Gerald Goetting; the LDPD, Professor Manfred Gerlach; the NDPD, Profesor Heinrich Homann; the president of the National Council of the National Front, Professor Lothar Kolditz; the members of the Politburo and secretaries of the SED Central Committee Joachim Herrmann and Guenter Mittag; as well as the department director in the SED Central Committee Karl Vogel.

Writers' Union Calls for 'Revolutionary Reform'

LD1610132689 Hamburg DPA in German
1217 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The Presidium of the GDR Writers' Union, in a statement published on Monday exclusively in the East Berlin paper DER MORGEN, calls for a "revolutionary reform," and calls "the ignorance of the media" in the GDR "unbearable." A unanimously approved statement about the Presidium session on 11 October says that many area (bezirk) executives of the Writers' Union, in resolutions, "affirm their deep concern about our country." The Presidium demands the publication of these resolutions. Likewise, the present Presidium statement, it was learned, will be published in the other GDR press.

"Ideological, economic, and social stagnation increasingly jeopardize matters achieved hitherto," the Presidium stresses. "The public democratic dialogue at all social levels about indifference, irresponsibility, mismanagement, and tutelage must start at once," the statement published in the paper of the Liberal-Democratic Party says. "Attitudes and statements expressing concern must not be suppressed and criminalized." The achievements of the GDR with its consistent anti-fascist attitude, solid contribution toward disarmament, and social successes are not being underestimated.

"Reform is not to be feared but the fear of it," [as received] they stress. The Presidium members see in the statement already made by the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Politburo "an initial starting point for necessary renewals" and intend "to help as much as possible with its uncompromising implementation." They also expressly affirm their solidarity with the Open Letter of Writers' Union President Hermann Kant, who a week ago complained about the "high-handedness of the press" and the suppression of criticism of the conditions in the GDR which deserve criticism, and which denounce the "insufficient movement of ideas in our own country." According to this information, the latest Presidium session of the Writers' Union was attended by Kant and by the well-known GDR authors and playwrights Volker Braun, Rainer Kerndl, John Erpenbeck, Guenter Goerlich, and Rudi Strahl.

NDPD Chairman Supports Political Consolidation

LD1410100689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0621 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—In the words of NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] Professor Heinrich Homann, the NDPD supports the consolidation of the political alliance in the GDR. "At present things depend in particular on all democrats closing ranks," he said in his party newspaper NATIONAL ZEITUNG. It is a matter of making "this so-far-unprecedented national joining together in the form of the multiparty system, the democratic bloc, the National Front, and the popular assemblies" more effective. [passage omitted]

Hormann said of yesterday's meeting between Erich Honecker, the party chairmen, and the president of the national Council of the National Front that it is good for the political forces to come together regularly, particularly when new serious issues arise, to contribute their experiences and thoughts, and to take the next steps forward together. "At present we are faced with problems of deep significance. It is a matter of solving them in a very concentrated and careful manner. However, they must first be thoroughly debated in society in order to be able to prepare and take intelligent decisions which serve socialism." The NDPD will participate in this to the best of its ability.

Homann stated that tangibly better solutions will have to be found, but in any case they would not be ready tomorrow. "Will we gain trust by a down-to-earth, realistic, and constructive thinking through of the problems and by mutual understanding of what is achievable immediately, or later, or in the first instance not yet achievable." Many issues are up for debate with fresh urgency, including the selection of goods, environmental protection, opportunities to travel, and the filling up of many unused areas of socialist democracy.

This path will not be lined only by friends. "We have at no time been spared attacks by our enemies but in the hardness of the struggle our party could never be deflected from its basic principles. It has always supported a clear attitude on the alliance without ifs or buts." The party's full presidium will meet in the coming week, the chairman announced.

Workers' Views Sought on Politburo Statement

LD1410194189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—"We need the ideas and deeds of each and every citizen on our way for a socialism which gives everyone the same rights and same opportunities, but also, of course, the same duties."

This was underlined by Werner Eberlein, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk [area] executive, on Saturday before workers of the parent enterprise of the "Ernst Thaelmann" heavy machinery construction combine (Sket) in Magdeburg. He was there to become acquainted with workers' views on the SED Central Committee Politburo statement issued on Wednesday.

"Our republic's jubilee and, not forgetting the finally issued statement, we believe to be an encouragement and dynamite. [as received] It makes us think that young people have turned their back on us," the smelter Heinz Bierschenk said. "However, on one thing we are agreed: Riots and rowdies will not help us. Those who are shouting loudest do not change anything. We want to talk constructively about sore points, one of which, in our view, is the implementation of the principle of work performance." He cited as a negative example that in his own place of work workers are already paid turning-up money for overtime worked on Saturdays and, in addition, are paid double time for actual hours worked. Smelter Uwe Pleier added that with such practices the discrepancy between buying power and goods available cannot indeed be overcome. Party organizer Uli Schulz underlined that to change this practice in just one combine would mean that a number of workers would transfer to wherever they would continue to be paid a sizeable wage without commensurate performance.

"Since I can work with numbers I know that many a dream to travel comes to nothing because of lack of

foreign currency," Heinz Bierschenk said. Hence, travelling is also an issue the economy helped to govern. "The awareness of such correlations, the information about them as well as their open and popularized reflection in the media may help us make decisions based on more facts," steelworks manager Robert Bittlingmayer said. Unfortunately, in the past months he found hardly any replies to many questions in his paper. The workers were also concerned about environmental protection issues. They failed to understand that an enterprise conception that contained many good measures such as for clean air in their section of the city, had so far paid no attention to waste heat from production. Major quantities of energy are thus simply given away.

Werner Eberlein underlined in conclusion that all the idas put forward were of such value since they aimed at solving problems in businesslike dialogue and trusting cooperation. "When we talk about the unity of continuity, dynamism, and renewal, then we must come to an agreement on what has to be jettisoned and what, in each particular instance, we wish to concretely and constructively."

USSR Friendship Group on Politburo Statement

LD1310201189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1851 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Secretariat of the Presidium of the Central Executive of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society today expressed its agreement with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo statement. It emphasized that its contents are also in accordance with the expectations and points of view of the members of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship. The Secretariat discussed how the friendship society, together with all the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front, can participate in the dialogue for the preparation of the 12th Party Congress of the SED and make a contribution to the resolving of the problems facing them.

The Secretariat reaffirms: Neither socialism in the GDR nor our firm fraternal bond with the USSR are open to discussion. The GDR-Soviet Friendship Society will actively work to strengthen socialism with the firm trust of the policies of the SED and in close cooperation with the other political forces of the GDR National Front.

SED Document Shows Concern Over Opposition

LD1310131789 Hamburg DPA in German 1149 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—There is concern in the Socialist Party of Germany [SED] that a "movement against socialism in the GDR with a mass character" might be formed from the citizens' initiative "New Forum" and other critical and disappointed citizens. This emerges from a party document that became known in East Berlin today which is to give the comrades help in arguments concerning the "Forum" and the opposition movement.

In it a necessary change in media reporting is mentioned very openly and the necessity of dialogue with those who think differently is stressed. It says that the GDR "today needs an open and public dialogue about all its development problems in a situation of radical change for socialism." However, it would be detrimental "to seek solutions in the result of a debate with an opposition movement that is forming in one way or another" for the further development of socialism.

With the background of the GDR's current problems and the effect of the Western media, which are carrying on "an antisocialist emotionalization," there is "a need for all comrades to act to secure a climate of trust and a realistic view of problems together with all citizens." An indispensable part of this climate is "the dialogue with those who think differently, as well as with forces inside and outside the churches and religious communities," it says in the document.

It calls for "an elimination of the chasm between the portrayal of socialist reality in the GDR's mass media and the everyday experiences of working people." The following limit is cited for the SED's readiness for dialogue and an improvement in media policy: "...Attacks on socialist state power, socialist ownership, and the alliance of the working class with other classes and social strata to fashion developed socialist society, as well as the leading role of the SED" should "not be allowed." The development of socialist democracy, including the fulfillment of basic and human rights, could "not be stimulated by the establishment of a political opposition, but only by activating and perfecting the political system in the GDR which has grown historically."

The Free German Youth [FDJ] newspaper JUNGE WELT also sees itself as a forum for the debate with citizens who think differently and are critical. The paper today writes self-critically saying, among other things: "Yes, we want debate with and suggestions from all citizens, and we clearly should have formulated this earlier."

The following statement by Jochen Willerding, secretary of the FDJ Central Council, is quoted: "....For this we need neither new commissions nor other bodies, but finally must use our existing structures of socialist democracy together with everyone so that we tackle and finish what moves us in the shortest time possible."

In the Halle area in the past 3 days, at least five workers or sympathizers of the "New Forum" have been temporarily detained or fined. It was reported in East Berlin on Friday that they are now free. A deacon in Merseburg is being accused of putting a notice of a "New Forum" event on his parish noticeboard.

According to civil rights campaign groups, Leipzig Chief Mayor Bernd Seidel has agreed that all demonstrators in custody since the middle of September and against whom proceedings have been instituted for riotous assembly should be released. However, this does not apply to the "ringleaders."

It was said on Thursday evening in the Gethsemane Church, which was packed to overflowing with 2,500 people, that 22 people are still in custody in Leipzig. In East Berlin, 140 people remain in custody, including several who have been held by the police since July in connection with a demonstration against the government in China.

Gottfried Forck, bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, again spoke in support of releasing all those held in custody unjustly. As soon as this happens, the vigils can stop. There are in the meantime, such vigils and daily peace prayers in a number of GDR cities, including Jena, Potsdam, and Erfurt.

Forck welcomed the state's offer of dialogue, but said that the talks should not be confined only to existing organizations, but should take into account "all democratic departures of the recent past."

In the church, a statement by GDR theology students was read out in which FRG politicians are called upon to exercise moderation in statements on intra-German relations. Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl is criticized by name. He should not combine reforms in the GDR with the question of German unity. The sovereignty of the GDR must be preserved "as an alternative to the capitalist FRG."

After the talks between East Berlin Chief Mayor Erhard Krack and church representatives, it is assumed that Krack will also allow critical citizens' representatives to express their views in subsequent talks. However, there was as yet an unwillingness to involve official representatives of New Forum, for example, in this dialogue. Also, the Free German Youth [FDJ] now has offered dissidents a round of talks. Twenty FDJ representatives and 20 church and citizens' representatives will take part.

Tisch Favors Early Central Committee Meeting

LD1410093289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] Chairman Harry Tisch is in favor of first thinking thoroughly, then putting forward constructive proposals for the further fashioning of socialism in the GDR. He reacted with this remark to ship builders in Boizenburg to a demand by citizens to bring forward the regular meeting of the Socialist Party of Germany [SED] Central Commitee. [passage omitted]

Tisch Says Situation Requires 'Decisions'

LD1610091589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0735 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—It is a challenge to all GDR trade unionists to eliminate sources of friction and to use even more extensively the fund of power, readiness to act and inventiveness. "Socialism is as good as we make it ourselves," stated Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] National Executive Council, in an interview with the GDR youth newspaper JUNGE WELT. The trade unionist evaluated his talks with workers at the Elbe shipyard in Boizenburg (Schwerin Area) which he had conducted at the weekend.

"I say here quite openly that one can talk with the workers about everything. But I say just as clearly that at present the atmosphere is very tense, it has become a different one. We have to react to this. The mood among colleagues has changed. We have to react to this. If we do not do this then others will," Tisch said in the interview published today. An understandable pressure of anticipation has arisen. "Therefore we must speedily, but above all thoroughly, consider what we can change immediately and what we can not. We are in a situation that requires decisions but also requires a great sense of responsibility."

"Trade unions and democracy cannot be separated from each other," the FDGB chairman stressed. "We will also in future represent our joint interests jointly, overcome our problems jointly. For this we have all required forms and forums of democracy. We do not need any new ones but we must, with all consistency, consider revitalizing those we have, it is necessary to declare war on routine, and all established patterns of behavior and ineffective political manners."

Harry Tisch said further to JUNGE WELT: "To be free and independent as trade unions in no way means political neutrality. Whoever wishes to use the trade union in order to act against the state under its umbrella, is in the wrong place here in the GDR."

"Trade union decisiveness" now signifies "to turn one's view consistently ahead and, under the leadership of the party, make an independent contribution towards the building up of the developed socialist society in the 1990's."

The present discussion in the enterprise and the statement made by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo prove, according to Tisch, "that we are prepared to react to life. Here I know that there is no standstill. But let us decide ourselves in our country how we are to face the problems and how we answer questions. Let us continue to allow no one to interfere in our affairs."

Citizens Urged To 'Think,' Show Patience

LD1410073889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0641 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Thinking is a "citizen's first duty" and "urgently required," in the GDR's current important stage of development the CDU newspaper NEUE ZEIT writes today. There are many questions which call for well-thought-out answers. The call for common reflection is also contained in the SED Politburo statement.

The paper goes on to say that in recent statements by our fellow citizens "there is a ring of estimable impatience. However, this impatience should be coupled with calm. At the same time it needs to be recognized that changes in the social atmosphere do not occur by a quick show of strength, but come about as a process of growth and maturing." Goodwill and the readiness to tackle change together, to think about improvements have been expressly articulated by many citizens. Journalists, too, in the future, must do a few things "to regain readers' confidence," it says.

Honecker Receives Chairmen of Parties

LD1310134989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1335 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, today received the chairmen of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany, Dr Guenther Maleuda; of the Christian-Democratic Union of Germany, Gerald Goetting; of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach; of the National Democratic Party of Germany, Professor Dr Heinrich Hommann; and the president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, Professor Dr Lothar Kolditz, for a discussion on current tasks in the further shaping of developed socialist society in the GDR.

BILD Says Bezirk Chiefs Oppose Politburo

LD1610122189 Hamburg DPA in German 1124 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—According to information from BILD newspaper, 13 of the 15 area (Bezirk) heads are calling for the replacement of the entire Politburo, along with Erich Honecker, its head. They also support far-reaching reforms in the GDR, BILD reports (in tomorrow's edition), with reference to "well-informed Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] circles."

The area (Bezirk) chairmen apparently fear strikes and unrest in all parts of the GDR and want to save the situation with far- reaching reforms. However, their call for a special session of the SED Central Committee has up to now met with refusal from the Politburo—the power center of the SED.

According to BILD, the 13 area (Bezirk) leaders are calling for far-reaching freedom to travel and the issuance of passports to all GDR citizens upon request. The supply of foodstuffs and consumer goods had to be improved without delay. They pleaded for close cooperation with the churches and the civil rights movement "New Forum," and call for secret ballot elections where independent candidates are also permitted.

DBD Leader Says 'Agitation' Won't Solve Woes

LD1310130789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0605 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a letter to the members of his party which was published in the newspaper BAUERN-ECHO today, Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany [DBD], spoke out against any interference by leading FRG politicians whose goal was not the improvement, but rather the elimination of socialism. "Neither do we need any 'recommendations' by those who have suddenly discovered their heart for the work 'of the other bloc parties' in the GDR. We know what they are aiming at from 4 decades of hard class struggle, but we will not allow the power of the workers and peasants to be shaken!" The DBD remains for all time a reliable alliance partner of the party of the working class.

On behalf of his party, the DBD chairman demanded that in the interests of good-neighborly relations those responsible in the FRG put a stop to the media spectacle and give up plans for reunification, demands for a Germany in the 1937 borders, and the so-called "duty to care for all Germans."

In his letter, Guenther Maleuda speaks in support of calm, level-headedness, objectivity, honesty, and above all good work. No one who makes criticisms with the interests of socialism in the GDR at heart will be "excluded" or put in the "antisocialist corner." Since socialism needs everyone and offers everyone a place, one cannot remain indifferent when GDR citizens leave their homeland.

Neither hastiness nor agitation are conducive to solving the contradictions arising on the path to shaping developed socialist society in the GDR. It now is a matter of all forces in society demonstrating their closeness to citizens, a sense of reality and receptiveness toward fellow men. "Respect for the opinions of others, democracy, and tolerance between those who hold objective discussions about how we can better carry out our joint ideal must determine our daily life."

'Ringleaders' of Protestors Appear in Court

LD1410195589 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The news which reached us from Dresden at the end of last week was worrying: Large groups of young people had been drawn into rowdy,

anti-state, and unconstitutional actions. They damaged the main street and various facilities and amenities in the city center. Some 108 young trees, 25,000 plants, and 125 square meters of paving stones, as well as numerous plate-glass windows were included in the damage. The first three ringleaders appeared in a Dresden court on Friday. Klaus Fest reports:

[Fest] There they stood in their bomber jackets, worn corduroy jeans, and worn-down shoes. I would have liked to see them in court in smarter clothes. But what they said later excused much about their appearance. There is Mike, the youngest, just 18, still an apprentice plumber, who finished the 10th class of school with a very good mark, who is in the Free German Youth, the Society for Sport and Technology, and the Free German Trade Union Federation, who is very active in sports, who because of the influence of his parents no longer wants to live in this country, saying it no longer lives up to his expectations. Another Mike: a trained bricklayer who, up to his 18th year, was raised in children's homes because his parents don't want to care for him. He completed the eighth grade at school, got a place of his own and 1,200 Marks as a gift from the children's home. He left the job he had trained for, became a farmhand, and needs at least three glasses of schnapps and eight bottles of beer a day now. And then there's Wolfgang, born in 1948, who had to repeat 2 years at school and left after the [word indistinct] class. More about him later.

The three were in court to explain their actions on 4 and 5 October of this year in and around the Dresden main station. Here is an excerpt from the charge-sheet:

[Unidentified woman] First the apprentice Mike Hoennske, secondly the farmhand Mike Schmidt, thirdly the citizen Wolfgang Gehrig, whose personal details have already been obtained and are thus known, I accuse you: Defendant Honneske, on several occasions leading a riot and, together with others, offering resistance to measures by the state. On Wednesday, 4 October 1989 the accused took part in the evening hours at the Dresden main station in a gathering of persons which endangered public order and safety and led this gathering by starting up chants. In spite of the demand by the German People's Police to leave this gathering, the accused called upon the people present to remain where they were and not comply with the instructions of the People's Police. Furthermore, he attempted to burn a GDR flag and to resist the measures of the People's Police by throwing chairs and benches from outside the Newa Interhotel at the police officers. These actions represent a crime under Paragraph 217, Sections 1 and 2, Paragraph 212, sections 1 and 3, and Paragraph 63, Section 2 of the Criminal Code.

[Fest]) The same and other paragraphs were also in the charges laid against the two others. Here's a little more about them: Mike the bricklayer and ex-farmhand: this year alone he has had four severe warnings. Mike wants a free life, and he sees this only west of the Elbe. That he has taken every liberty he wants to here already, including whether he even wants to work or not, that he does not understand. Wolfgang, who has only taken up an apprenticeship as a concrete construction worker and then threw it in, soon ended up in the youth work center. And things went on like this.

[Wolfgang Gehrig] In 1967 I was convicted for the first time, on charges of theft and anti-social behavior, and I was sentenced to 4 months' imprisonment and confinement to the Berlin area. Up to this year, I have been in prisons frequently at short intervals.

[Woman] So you have not had any fixed work contract?

[Gehrig] No.

[Woman] And why not?

[Gehrig] Because I don't see why I should work here for the socialist state.

[Woman] That's why you want to go to the FRG?

[Gehrig] Yes.

[Woman] And what do you think your life in the FRG would be like?

[Gehrig] I have proved that I can work.

[Woman] How often did you go to work in the week? Every day?

[Gehrig] Sometimes, yes, [sentence indistinct]

[Woman] But it wasn't so regular that it amounted to a proper job?

[Gehrig] No.

[Woman] What did you use the money for?

[Gehrig] Mainly for alcohol.

[Eest] So this Wolfgang was in the first ranks of the hooligans at Dresden main station. Wolfgang destroyed station doors; Mike, the farmhand, threw around waste-paper baskets, and a stolen typewriter, and looted a kiosk in the station concourse. And he egged the masses on to do the same. [passage omitted]

Mike the apprentice and Mike the bricklayer, and Wolfgang, who worked occasionally and mostly spent his nights at the station, saw that their hour had come on thse 2 days in Dresden. They, along with others, were the center of attention. Curious bystanders, some thousands of them, did nothing to prevent any of them from committing their criminal acts. Did all those bystanders want such destruction in the station? Did they want to see a policeman strung up, as someone shouted to them? They, the ones who stood by and did nothing, gave cover to the ringleaders. And those ringleaders received their punishment in Dresden on Friday. Mike Schmidt, the bricklayer, 3 years and 6 months' imprisonment; Mike Hoennske, the 18-year-old apprentice, 3 years and 8 months; and Wolfgang Gehrig, who has been in court 12

times in the last 25 years, and spent most of that time in custody, was sentenced to 4 years and 6 months' imprisonment. All three accused were also fined 1,000 marks. They must pay the court costs. The sentences are not yet legally in force.

Vogel Calls for Release of Demonstrators

LD1310142489 Hamburg DPA in German 1317 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel has called for corrections in the implementation of law and order in the GDR and has supported the release of unjustly imprisoned demonstrators. In a statement made public by him in East Berlin today, he also refers to a "violation of the principle of equal treatment" because of the numerous legal proceedings under way "for reasons of unauthorized departure for the GDR via Hungary, the CSSR or Poland."

"It is untenable," stressed the lawyer Honecker has entrusted with the solution of humanitarian issues, "to permit on the one hand special ways of reaching the FRG, and on the other hand to issue arrest warrants for analogous behavior. Criminal proceedings against demonstrators who have committed no acts of violence also are juridically dubious."

In both respects, he believes he has the duty as a lawyer to "call for corrections and practices under the rule of law." Vogel stressed that the "release of those concerned cannot be delayed."

Text of Statement

LD1310171789 Hamburg DPA in German 1433 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Here follows the text of the statement issued personally by the Honecker aide, East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, on the release of detainees:

"I regard the numerous criminal proceedings because of unauthorised exits from the GDR via Hungary, the CSSR, or Poland as a violation of the principle of equal treatment of citizens before the law, guaranteed in Article 20 of the Constitution, Article 5 of the Penal Code, and Paragraph 5 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. It is untenable on the one hand to permit special ways of reaching the FRG and, on the other hand, to issue arrest warrants for analogous behavior.

The criminal proceedings against demonstrators who have committed no acts of violence are also juridically dubious. In both respects I regard it as my duty as a lawyer to call for corrections and practices characteristic of a constitutional state. The release of those concerned brooks no delay. For them, the relatives and society, every hour counts. Everything must run smoothly.

In our responsibility to humanitarian aid and solutions, we lawyers are called upon to act as mediators. This applies also to travel and emigration procedures. We must no longer accept bureaucratic obstacles. They are a contributing cause of people resorting to diplomatic establishments. However, reminders from the outside are not statutory in mastering our tasks. We must be able to utilize the legal aid and legal remedies of which there is ample provisions in our country, exhaustively, in a considered and perceptive manner.—Prof Wolfgang Vogel."

Some Offenders Released

LD1310164989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1629 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—ADN has learned from the press office of the GDR General Prosecuting Attorney that, after conducting the necessary investigations, those people who were arrested for disturbing the public festival on 7 October and in connection with illegal assemblies, have been released. There are still 11 people in investigative custody for committing arson, looting, and acts of violence as well as incitement to acts of violence. These people, most of whom have previous convictions, will have to answer to the responsible courts.

Party Daily Reprints Local Papers on Riots

AU1210123789

[Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 10 October 1989 on pages 3 and 4, in a 10,000-word item headlined "We Want to Develop Our Socialist Country Further for the People's Benefit and Do Everything for Peace," publishes letters from readers of ..ll sectors of the population to, and articles by, Bezirk newspapers of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], who express their "outrage at the provocative riots" that were intended "to disturb the ceremonies" marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

Readers of the Magdeburg daily VOLKSSTIMME are quoted as saying that they "condemn the events on the eve of the national day" and "the behavior of the troublemakers who are trying to whip up the mood against our Republic."

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reprints an article by the Karl-Marx-Stadt daily FREIE PRESSE which says that the "provocation was carefully planned long before," this is proved by the fact that "persons from other Kreise of this Bezirk or from other Bezirks were among the instigators."

Readers of SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG, published in Dresden, express their "disgust at these hooligans" and write that "we do not let them ruin us," and "problems cannot be resolved in the street."

The newspaper writes in an editorial that "what we want and need now is a broad, democratic discussion within the party organizations and with all citizens about how

to continue our policy of continuity and renewal in preparation of the 12th SED Congress, how to cope with our tasks, and how to resolve the problems that concern our people."

LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG carries readers' letters demanding the restoration of law and order in the country, and publishes an interview with Leipzig Mayor Bernd Seidel who talks about successes in housing construction and other areas and says that "our words had to be addressed to those who on Monday evenings disturb life in the city, paralyze traffic, and interfere with trade, and all this against the citizens' interests." He adds that he is determined "to put all those in their place who seek to hinder our cooperation with all democratic forces."

The Potsdam daily MAERKISCHE VOLKSSTIMME reports that the People's Police were able to nip in the bud actions that were aimed at upsetting public order and disturbing the popular festival, by arresting a number of persons who "took part in illegal riots." In connection with this report, the paper carries an interview with chief lieutenant of the People's Police Bernhard Adam and public prosecutor Hans-Juergen Gruenwald who describe the incidents and the persons involved and cite relevant legislation.

Finally, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reprints readers' letters to the Erfurt publication DAS VOLK, who sharply criticize "the counterrevolutionary appearance of some incited elements who intended to disturb and misuse the festivities marking our 40th anniversary for their actions which were obviously inspired by Western media."

Hager Expresses Confidence in Socialism

LD1310141189 East Berlin Television Service in German 1840 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Remarks by Kurt Hager, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee Politburo, during interview in Moscow in connection with GDR Days of Culture; date not specified—live or recorded; no video available]

[Text] [Announcer] With regard to speculations on the future of socialism in the GDR, Kurt Hager said:

[Hager] Socialism in the GDR will keep gathering strength, contrary to all prophecies in Western media such as the ZDF [FRG TV second channel], which carries persistent talk of the fiasco of socialism. Good socialism will continue to improve. It is well on its way, I would say, if we make joint efforts to come to terms with the problems to be solved in everyday life and overall social development. Yesterday's statement by the SED Central Committee Politburo made substantial reference to that.

As is pointed out in that statment, the SED Central Committee will state its view and we will no doubt set the course to determine future developments at our 12th party congress. That party congress will be based on an extensive discussion of the social problems in our country. There will be every opportunity for the friendly related parties, for the social organizations, for all forces united in the National Front, and for the citizens from all social sectors in general to comment on the SED proposals. Workers, peasants, collective farmers, members of the intelligentsia—they are all called on in the statement, as I would like to recall, to join the discussion. We will submit appropriate proposals for that discussion.

I think there is no other way. Every step that is taken will have to be carefully considered, carefully prepared. After all, we are not after any kind of sensation, but we are striving to improve life in line with the will of our citizens and above all to make sure that everything is done on our part to safeguard peace.

Some have ceased to even mention this issue. However, the safeguarding of peace is and will of course continue to be the most crucial issue of our time which, in turn, bears relation to the strengthening of the GDR. We have thus established the unity of socialism and peace and democracy and freedom as described in the Politburo statement. Well, I am very confident with regard to the future development of our country.

Hager Meets Orthodox Church Leaders in Moscow

LD1410224189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1347 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—There was a meeting today between Kurt Hager, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo and Central Committee secretary, and the Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia, head of the Department of International Church Relations of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), as well as the exarch of the Moscow patriarch of the ROC for Berlin and central Europe, Archbishop German, in Moscow's Yelochovskiy Cathedral, within the framework of the Days of GDR Culture in the USSR.

The churchmen conveyed their congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. During the talks they pointed to the existing good cooperation between both nations. It was just as much a matter of continuing this as their joint work for peace and the good of the people. They reported on the variety of relations between the ROC and church circles in the GDR.

The GDR delegation visited the Danilov Monastery, which is only a few kilometers from the center of Moscow. [passage omitted]

Hager Interviewed on Future of Socialism

LD1210201589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1939 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Contrary to all the predictions by Western media, which continually speak of the fiasco of socialism, socialism in the GDR will continue to grow stronger and become perfected. The best way to achieve this will be "if we make joint efforts to solve the

problems which must be tackled in everyday life and in the entire development of society." Kurt Hager Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member, stated this on the sidelines of the GDR cultural days in the USSR, which opened in Moscow today.

In the interview, broadcast on the main news program of "Aktuelle Kamera" on GDR Television, the politician added that very important points were already made on the future of socialism in the GDR in yesterday's statement by the SED Politburo. The Central Committee will map out further developments at its next session. The 12th SED Congress "will be a congress which will be based on a great debate on social problems in our country. There will be every possibility for the allied parties, social organizations, the parties united in the National Front, and citizens as a whole from all strata to discuss the SED's proposals. The workers, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia—all are called upon to enter into a discussion."

Kurt Hager said there is no other way. Every step has to be thoroughly considered and prepared.

"We are not concerned with any sort of sensations but it is a matter of improving life in accordance with the will of citizens and above all doing everything for our part to preserve peace. Today many are no longer talking about this issue. But the preservation of peace is and remains of course the most important topic of our times. That again is linked to the strengthening of the GDR, and thereby we have actually created the unity of socialism, peace, democracy, and freedom which is mentioned in the Politburo statement. Therefore I am very optimistic about our country's further development."

'Immense Damage' Caused by FRG Actions

LD1410203989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1932 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Problems of the GDR will be solved in the GDR. Decisions will be taken neither in the West nor, as Mikhail Gorbachev has emphasized in the GDR capital, in Moscow. This was underlined by television journalist Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler on Saturday in a commentary on "Aktuelle Kamera" on GDR Televisión. Concerning the offers of supposed help from the FRG, he emphasized that the capitalist who seeks to promote socialism still has to be born. "They do not come to the Leipzig Fair because they want to help, but because they want to conclude business deals. That is capable of being expanded and is of mutual benefit. However, nobody should think that our sovereignty is for sale. Bonn has not got enough money to repay us for the immense damage which it has inflicted on us while the frontiers were open until that particular 13 August. Not to mention all the other offenses."

When one is being bombarded by a capitalist state with proposals as to what socialism must look like and all the things that must be reformed until real socialism with all its successes is removed from Germany, then he—to quote an old German saying to keep your own house in order—could offer a number of helpful suggestions, Schnitzler continued. "The existing graduated plans for eliminating publicly owned enterprises through the unbridled cravings for aggresssion and occupation coming from Bonn Secretary of State Hennig should end up on the rubbish heap of Bonn's illusions as should the 1937 frontiers called for by Waigel and others. However, Bonn's duty of care if applied, contrary to international law, not to foreigners but to federal citizens, could do some good. The unemployed, those without homes or shelter, potential suicides would no doubt be grateful to be cared for. Homeless students, children without kindergartens and without places in higher education, the old, the sick, drug addicts—there is indeed much need for the duty of care at home.

Institute Assesses Economic Ties With FRG

LD1310183589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1513 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Economic relations between the GDR and FRG go far beyond the purely economic framework and have an immense political dimension for both sides. This is underlined in a publication of the GDR International Politics and Economics Institute (IPW). "In the interaction between economics and politics, political effects for the safeguarding of the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of the states of the two opposing systems can be achieved through them, even if they remain at all times part of the confrontation between socialism and capitalism," the author Juergen Nitz writes in the latest "IPW Reports."

Economic cooperation between the two German states is subject to a special duty not to interfere, via economic actions, in the affairs of the other and to desist from all attempts to destabilize or jeopardise the other side. "This includes the abandoning of all attempts to manifest unrealistic 'German affairs policy positions' or to bring into play the West Berlin factor with concepts that are directed against the GDR."

Among the general guidelines for shaping GDR-FRG future economic relations, the IPW counts first of all the dismantling of economic uncertainties, above all the removal of trade barriers. In this respect the government in Bonn is facing a "considerable backlog in the direction of normality."

For the nineties new, modern areas of the national economies must be included in cooperation, such as heavy engineering, areas of the electronics and electrical industry, laser, welding and robotics technology, the manufacture of tools, mechanization and automation equipment, printing machinery, energetics, and environmental technology. It includes the services sector with a broad range, from engineering services, consulting, software, via information and communications to tourism. The foreign trade structure does not yet correspond to the economic and scientific-technological potential of the two sides, the IPW estimates.

Also in the forefront of the interest are business cooperation with the fundamental guideline of cooperation research, development, production, and marketing. A further level is the direct cooperation of economic establishments such as universities, institutes, and others.

Thirdly, what is at stake is a more effective institutionalization of mutual economic and trade relations, for instance in cooperation groups each lined to its competent leading political body in order to be able to tackle projects immediately. Finally, the article refers to large-scale GDR projects with the FRG in which West Berlin is also included to a considerable extent. This includes projects in the power industry, postal services and telecommunications, transport, tourism, and environmental protection.

The GDR has adopted a long-term constructive position toward economic relations with the other German state, the publication emphasized. The completion of the single European market is seen by the GDR industry not only as a considerable challenge but also as a great opportunity. "This applies both to the new stage of stepped up competition to be expected, which the GDR combines will have to face also in the FRG market, and simultaneously to a relevant full utilization of the opportunities offered for the further development of relations."

Party Daily Criticizes 'Revanchism' in FRG

LD1610085489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0251 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The "Germany policy concept" of the "League of Expelled Germans" questions in the as-yet most ruthless way the results of World War II, the whole European contract treaty, and the conditions of the Helsinki Final Accord. This document, the crux of which called for the restoration of a German Reich in the 1937 frontiers, was, so to speak, a call for the liquidation of European realities, for the elimination of the status quo, and for a "European new order," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND states today.

"No, here it is not a question of a few mad people. It is a question of a serious danger to security and cooperation in Europe, even for peace," it says in the commentary under the headline "How revanchism is being stirred up in the FRG."

In this connection the paper refers to "He who put everything in the FRG behind the knights from the eastern countries." Wasn't it the former federal minister of defense and present NATO General Secretary Woerner who openly proclaimed the changing of the status quo? What does it mean in plain English if now Federal Chancellor Kohl says presumptiously that he wishes "to stretch out a helping hand to all the peoples in the East of the continent on their way to freedom?" Is it not a whole team of his ministers who are calling at the tops of their voices for the frontiers of 1937? What does it mean if the Hesse Christian Democratic Union government intends to allow all three verses of the "Deutschlandlied" to be sung once again as a national anthem, i.e. "Germany, Germany, above all things.... From the Maas to the Memel, from the Etsch to the Belt?"

And don't they all start with what lies geographically nearest—with plans to get rid of the GDR, the socialist state on German soil? Didn't Bonn State Secretary Hennig, who is at the same time spokesman of the "East Prussian Landsmannschaft" [cultural association for those born in Eastern areas of former Reich], a few days ago fish out the old Adenauer "Grey Plan" again? That very plan that plans for a "Day X" again and after that the return of our publicly owned enterprises to the West German monopolies, the land of the peasants to the large-property owners?

"Moreover the Neo-Nazis of SS-man Schoenhuber, whose brown program contains all of the named revanchist aims. [as received] And the black-brown coalition, looming in the FRG, which is already being tried out in various places."

In conclusion NEUES DEUTSCHLAND states: "As far as the GDR is concerned it will continue in future to check and break the revanchist flood. Socialism on German soil is not up for discussion. The Great German plans don't have a chance."

4,465 GDR Refugees Cross Into Austria

LD1610133389 Budapest MTI in English 1204 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 16 (MTI)—During the weekend, 4,465 GDR citizens crossed the Hungarian-Austrian border, a Hungarian border guard official told MTI. Colonel Karoly Karacs said that the number of people leaving had increased over the past few days. Since the introduction of the Hungarian Government measure, more than 35,000 people have left for Austria via Hungary.

He also said that the number of illegal crossings committed by GDR citizens had fallen to a minimum. There have been 15 crossings at the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border, and one attempt across the Hungarian-Austrian "green border."

Moldt Receives Belgian Christian-Social Group

AU1110084789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Oct 89 p 4

[ADN report: "Praise for Good Relations Between GDR and Belgium"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [4 October] in Berlin GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Ewald Moldt received a delegation of the Christian-Social Party of the Kingdom of Belgium, headed by Gysbert Mathysen, for a talk. The interlocutors paid tribute to the bialteral relations, which have been developing steadily for years

and have achieved an examplarily high level in the economic and cultural-scientific fields. It was noted with satisfaction that Erich Honecker's state visit to Belgium, his meetings with King Baudouin and Prime Minister Martens, as well as the visits by Prince Albert and Deputy Premier Claes to the GDR, have essentially contributed to exploit this beneficial cooperation even more comprehensively. The interlocutors agreed that on the international level a transition from dangerous military confrontation to peaceful cooperation has proved feasible.

Plans To Contract Chinese Labor Denied

AU1410141789 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 14-15 Oct 89 p 2

[Ewald Koenig report: "GDR: No Importation of Chinese"]

[Text] Bonn/Berlin—The relations between the GDR and the PRC are excellent at present, but the mutual affection does not go so far that 80,000 Chinese will move to the GDR to fill the gaps left by the GDR refugees. References to a newspaper report on this from Vienna cause a disbelieving shaking of heads in East Berlin and in Bonn, since there are problems with the Chinese who already live in the GDR.

At the moment, a few more than 900 PRC citizens live in the GDR, independent of the recent mass exodus. They mostly work in locomotive and railcar factories for the German railroads. The dissatisfaction of these foreign workers is evident. The Chinese complain about the working conditions and the accommodation, and mainly about the fact that their wages are paid in the GDR marks. "The young Chinese would like much more to get foreign currency," it is said. There are also problems with social security. Therefore, raising the number of Chinese workers, in particular to the figure of 80,000 men which was reported, is considered extremely unlikely in East Berlin.

The GDR refugee wave and the discussion about German reunification is not reported at all in the Chinese mass media. The PRC wants to avoid any embarrassment of the friendly GDR.

West German SPD's Vogel Visits, Holds Talks

LD1210174989 Budapest MTI in English 1625 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 12 (MTI)—On Thursday Dr Hans-Jochen Vogel, president of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and head of the party's parliamentary group, arrived on a three-day visit to Budapest in his latter capacity. The visit was initiated by the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Mr Vogel is acompanied by parliamentary representatives and officials of the German Trade Union Federation. [sentence as received]

The delegation was welcomed at Ferihegy Airport by Antal Reger, secretary of Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee. Present was Alexander Arnot, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Hungary.

From the airport the delegation was driven to Heroe's Square, where Mr Vogel laid a wreath on the Hungarian Heroes' Monument.

Meets Szuros

LD1210230589 Budapest MTI in English 2150 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 12 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly, met Dr Hans-Jochen Vogel and party in parliament on Thursday afternoon.

The president of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the party's parliamentary committee arrived in Budapest on Thursday for a three-day visit in his latter capacity.

In the course of the cordial talks, Mr Szuros briefed Mr Vogel on the agenda of the parliamentary session to be resumed on Tuesday and the sharp committee debates on the crucial laws, as well as Hungary's domestic and foreign political endeavours.

Speaking about the Hungarian Socialist Party Congress, he pointed out that there was no democracy in Europe without a socialist movement and a socialist party. The HSP aims to emerge after the elections as the strongest party, even if a second left-wing party emerges.

Matyas Szuros said that 'orientation in one direction is to be eliminated in our international relations, yet we do not want to exchange it for another one-sided orientation'. With regard to public opinion that Hungary should achieve an internationally safeguarded neutral status in future, he said that it could only be imagined in relations of confidence with the Soviet Union, yet realization requires preparation. For the time being however, priority lies in modernizing the Warsaw Treaty, and to gradually transform it into a political organization.

Views Reform With Szuros

LD1310140489 Hamburg DPA in German 1136 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest (DPA)—A concerted program of aid by Western Europe for the reform movements in Hungary and other countries in Eastern and central Europe has been proposed by Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] chief Hans-Jochen Vogel. The Federal Republic should take the initiative for such an operation following the model of the U.S. Marshall Plan following World War II, he said today in a speech during a function put on by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Budapest.

The complete dismantling of EC import restrictions vis-a-vis Hungary and Poland was part of such a concept. Further financial means for start-up capital, modernization, and halting cross-border pollution should be made available in a Eurocapital fund. Furthermore, in order to reduce risk, private Western investment in both reforming states should be promoted by means of a temporally limited sleeping partnership on the part of state banks, and long-term credits for infrastructure measures affecting industry should be made available. A concept such as this also included the abolishing of all measures that restricted Europeans' freedom of movement, such as the West German visa requirement for Hungarians.

A fundamental precondition of a new policy for Europe is, in Vogel's words, respect for all existing borders. "We do not want any border changes in Europe; we want permeable borders that no longer separate the peoples," he said. Disbanding the alliances is not on the agenda at present. What is necessary, however, is alliance-surmounting cooperation with the aim of a European peace order. This includes the further "deblocing of thought and action." In the common European home of the future, there must be no more rooms separated from one another by barbed wire.

In Vogel's view, thoughts about pluralism, freedom to express one's opinion, and democracy presently are spreading more widely than ever before. "Not Stalinism, not dogmatic communism, no; democracy and with it the ideas of social democracy have proven themselves to be contagious." The reform process set in motion in the USSR by state and party chief Mikhail Gorbachev proved this just as much as the developments in Poland and Hungary. Democratic socialism, which prematurely was said by many to be dead, would continue to gain in importance and attractiveness, the SPD chief is convinced.

In the words of Hungarian Parliament President Matyas Szuros, Hungary is striving for internationally guaranteed neutrality. This decision soon would be on the agenda, he said in the talk with the SPD chairman. Hungary should "uncouple" itself from the processes in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In Szuros' view, the reform process in the GDR should not proceed too quickly so that development in other states

is not endangered. However, it also should commence now in the GDR. The parliament president continued saying, however, that the GDR faced the dilemma that it "robbed itself of its reason for existence" if it changed its policies.

Szuros said further that Hungary wanted to refer back heavily to the experiences of the Federal Republic with its basic law during the current working out of the new constitutionk. The establishment of a constructive vote of no confidence following the Bonn example was planned.

Vogel, who is remaining in Budapest until Saturday, also met with leading representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Party, which is entangled in embittered struggles between the wings shortly before its first party congress. The SPD head advised the Hungarian social democrats not to waste their energies in vain in light of the upcoming date for the first free parliamentary elections next spring.

Received by Nemeth, Pozsgay

LD1310134689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth received today in Budapest Social Democratic Party of Germany Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel. The West German politician earlier held negotiations with Imre Pozsgay, minister of state. During the meetings, ways in which the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] could link itself with the European socialist movement was discussed. Imre Pozsgay briefed his guest about the circumstances leading to the formation of the HSP, making special reference to the compromises.

This morning Hans-Jochen Vogel held negotiations in the Foreign Ministry with State Secretary Laszlo Kovacs.

[Hamburg DPA in German at 1418 GMT on 13 October transmits a report on Vogel's visit to Hungary which adds the following: "The GDR has in recent days lodged a complaint with the Budapest leadership about opening the borders for people who want to leave the GDR. Vogel announced this following a discussion with Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. In this respect, East Berlin insisted on adherence to the treaty that had been annulled by Hungary and had requested that the refugees in the future be detained again and sent back. This had, however, been firmly rejected by Hungary. His interlocutors assured him that nothing in the current practice would be changed, Vogel said."]

Holds Talks With Nyers

LD1410175289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] According to Rezso Nyers, the main task now is to guarantee a peaceful transition. The Hungarian Socialist Party chairman believes that if this does not succeed, the country will end up in a kind of feverish state for many months, and unpredictable things would happen. The party chairman informed Hans-Jochen Vogel about all this at their meeting that lasted more than 1 hour.

According to Rezso Nyers, in Hungary it is no longer necessary to be afraid of a regression, but destabilization is still a real danger. The chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party emphasized at the meeting that his party encourages the changes, but alongside this, it considers avoiding chaos and remaining predictable to be important.

Rezso Nyers and Hans-Jochen Vogel agreed that the Polish and Hungarian situations which are often compared are scarely identical, since the Hungarian economy to date has continued to function.

Holds News Conference

LD1410211689 Budapest MTI in English 1949 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—On the one hand, Hungarian development is bound in several respects to the events taking place in Gorbachev's Soviet Union and the Polish changes, on the other hand, it emanates to other countries, including the GDR. In case the process comes to a standstill in Hungary, it would have unfavourable effects also on other countries, said Hans-Jochen Vogel, president of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], at his press conference in Budapest on Friday and Saturday, as chairman of the SPD Parliamentary Group.

With respect to the economic situation, the impression of Mr Vogel, who arrived in Budapest from Warsaw, was that the conditions are considerably better in Hungary, thus regarding the success of political reforms, the state of the economy does not imply such a considerable risk as in Poland.

In answer to a question on whether the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] could be accepted into the Socialist International, Mr Vogel said: The Social Democratic Party of Hungary has been a member of the Socialist International for long, and is a member today. In general, one country can have only one member in the Socialist International, and although two member parties are present in a few cases, "Acquiring membership in the Socialist International for the HSP will be a complex process". However, this cannot be an obstacle in the way of dialogue and the extension of relations between the Social Democratic Parties and the HSP, Mr Vogel stressed.

Mr Vogel left Budapest on Saturday.

Horn Leaves for European Union in Hamburg

LD1210215389 Budapest MTI in English 1958 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 12 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, left for the FRG on Thursday at

the invitation of the leadership of the European Union in West Germany, the FRG section of the European movement. Mr Horn, with leading West European politicians, is to deliver an address at the Hamburg congress of the organization. The Hungarian foreign minister is also to meet with Bonn government officials.

Economic Commission Session Held With Romania

AU1210195289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1849 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest (AGERPRES) 12/10/1989—The proceedings of the 22nd session of the joint Romanian-Hungarian Governmental Commission of Economic Cooperation were held in Budapest on 11 and 12 October. The two delegations, led by Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Ferenc Horvath, minister of industry of the Hungarian People's Republic, surveyed the current stage of bilateral economic relations, the actions and steps that have to be taken to further develop the Romanian-Hungarian cooperation on multiple planes, by turning to better account the possibilities offered by the two countries' economies, to expand and diversify mutual goods deliveries.

At the end of the proceedings, the two co-chairmen of the commission signed the protocol of the session.

The chairman for Romania of the commission met Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Diplomatic Relations With PRC Commemorated

AU1010163289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Oct 89 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Anniversary of Hungarian-Chinese Diplomatic Relations"]

[Text] China can seclude itself from the rest of the world, but the world can never do that to China. This country of 1 billion people, with thousands of years of tradition, is one of the major sources of human culture.

Hungary has been maintaining diplomatic relations with the new China for 4 decades. Fortunately, our relations based on mutual respect and interests have also stood the test of the coolness during the sixties and seventies. China is again our important and valuable partner, and China itself highly evaluates its "Hungarian contacts."

We are glad that China considers Hungary among its friendly partners, even if sometimes we evaluate each other's domestic policy developments differently. Even if it does not agree with something, China has for a long time ceased to interfere in others' internal affairs. The press in Beijing writes objectively about our reforms which, for some time, Beijing also considered to be useful to China. Our very equal relations that are free of lecturing and malice are beneficial to both countries.

The world has learned that China is making long-term plans and thinks in terms of the distant future, and the painful changes in course that seem too long for us Europeans will not change this. Now, on the occasion of this anniversary, and on the basis of the experiences gained in the last 4 decades of our relations, we can express our hope that both the Hungarians and the Chinese have also learned to be useful to each other for the future and in order to find increasing opportunities for joint activity.

Nyers Views Major Tasks Facing Country

OW1310141489 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1115 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by an unidentified NHK correspondent on 13 October, from the NHK "News Today" program; Nyers' remarks in Hungarian, with simultaneous Japanese translation provided by an unidentified translator; place of interview not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Video shows close-up of Nyers sitting in a study, facing camera throughout] We, the Socialists, are trying to make some historical concessions. First, we want to make a compromise with a market-oriented economy. In other words, we have to admit that it would be a perfect system to have conditions oriented to the market. That is, the system would be perfect if the conditions were oriented to such fields as commodities, capital, the labor force, and the service sector. By making these conditions interact with each other, we would like to provide producers with necessary methods of evaluation or, should I say, measurement.

Regarding the domestic market, we have to increase demand. There will be a transition period for the time being, but we must make this period very short. Then, we have to promote economic growth. Of course, the growth will not be dynamic, but slow and steady. At the same time, we must try to improve the balance in the market in a radical way. In such fields as foodstuffs and industrial products, we will have to achieve a radical improvement. And we will have to create market conditions that are needed for such improvement. For without such conditions, we will never succeed in our reform.

Moreover, we will have to reform the relationship between our currency and commodities. In other words, it will be necessary to make our nation's prices equal to, or close to, the world prices. In this way, we will try to make the assessment of our production reflected on the world market. And through these efforts, we will try to recover the convertibility of the Hungarian currency, the forint. And through such measures, we will also try to somehow suppress the present high inflation rate. We will not allow the high inflation rate, which stands at 15, 16, or 17 percent, to increase any further. We shall not allow the rate to go up any more even in the transition period. These are our major tasks now.

Minister Kulcsar 'Would Like To Be' President

AU1310160189 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 13 Oct 89 p 54

[Interview with Hungarian Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar by Emese Kovats: "I Would Like To Be President"—date and place not given]

[Text] WOCHENPRESSE: What is your opinion of the party congress that has just ended?

Kulcsar: It was very interesting for me to participate in the party congress for some time as a guest. I am planning to write a book, a political review of the transition period, for which personal impressions are very important.

WOCHENPRESSE: What will be the consequences of this party congress for the future of Hungary?

Kulcsar: This is difficult to anticipate today. Even though this party has not distanced itself from the events of the past as resolutely as I would have wanted, it has at least made an effort. To what extent it will be possible to further develop this remains to be seen.

WOCHENPRESSE: What about the responsibility toward the past?

Kulcsar: One will have to profoundly analyze this period of autocratic rule and the question of responsibility. In my opinion, there can only be political responsibility. What I want to prevent during my term of office as justice minister is a new witch hunt by the other side. In Hungary, political responsibility has always been offset by penal responsibility. This is a bad habit, which must be eliminated by all means.

WOCHENPRESSE: Does one have to regard the reopening of the political trials in this light?

Kulcsar: When I accepted this office, one of my intentions was to abolish these show trials. The decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Imre Nagy has revealed fundamental legal facts, which can now serve as a base. The Hungarian courts cannot resume all the thousands of trials. It was essential in the case of the trial of Imre Nagy, so that Parliament can adopt the necessary laws to annul all these judgments.

WOCHENPRESSE: Why has this happened only now?

Kulcsar: It was a mistake that my predecessor did not deal with this subject. For me it has priority.

WOCHENPRESSE: Is the rehabilitation of Cardinal Mindszenti also one of your priorities?

Kulcsar: The trial is not yet over. As far as I know the supreme judges are already drawing up a new judgment. Nevertheless, politically the rehabilitation is already a fact.

WOCHENPRESSE: What other judgments will be reversed?

Kulcsar: The first stage includes the trial of Imre Nagy, that of Mindszenti, and the law that is connected with the events of 1956. In the second stage, another law will follow that deals with the show trials after 1945. This applies to a much greater number.

WOCHENPRESSE: You will present a new constitutional law to Parliament. What are the most important items?

Kulcsar: Mainly, there are two: The new constitution is to eliminate all ideological strains that deal with the primacy of socialism. It will expressly establish the multiparty system. Moreover, it will contain a passage that establishes that neither individual persons nor organizations are permitted to seize power by force of arms. I regard this as very important. In addition, it will clearly define the position of the state president. The constitutional court will also be given an important role.

WOCHENPRESSE: What role will it ascribe to the state president?

Kulcsar: An important one. However, in important questions he will not be able to decide alone, but only in cooperation with the constitutional court and with the premier, in case it is impossible to reach a decision through Parliament.

WOCHENPRESSE: The Constitution also plans to set up an audit court.

Kulcsar: This is true, and I think it is absolutely necessary. Until now we have not had such a body, and nobody has been able to check the management of public finances. This must change. The fiscal authorities must also be controlled.

WOCHENPRESSE: The Smallholders Party has proposed you as a candidate for the presidency....

Kulcsar: I have heard about it, but I have not yet been officially approached; nevertheless, I feel greatly honored, and I would like to run. There are opinion polls according to which I have good chances.

WOCHENPRESSE: Would you like to be president?

Kulcsar: Yes, very much so. I am convinced that I would be just the kind of president that the country needs.

9th People's Front Movement Congress Opens

LD1410182789 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—The People's Front Movement was frequently condemned to an unworthy, humiliating role by autocracy, the initiatives were frequently received not simply by silencing, and rejection, but occasionally with condemnation. However, many elements of today's diverse changes are rooted in the

People's Front, said President-General Secretary Istvan Huszar, at the 9th Congress of the Patriotic People's, brought ahead of schedule, which opened on Saturday in Budapest.

In his contribution to the written report, Mr Huszar pressed for the emergence of an independent People's Front Movement, which distances itself from power dictatorships of all kinds of signs.

Stressing the need for distancing from the extremes, acting President Istvan Kukorelli argued for the need of the national compromise. Mr Kukorelli said that the party state endeavoured to make itself acceptable through the People's Front in the past decades, frequently using the People's Front as a means to this end, and the public mostly harbours resentment against the People's Front for this. Mr Kukorelli rejected the role of scapegoat, but also the formal public law roles.

The acting president stressed that the People's Front believes in public accounting of assets. He then set forth the document entitled "The Plan of the People's Front for the Future". This holds people's diplomacy to be a major part of foreign policy, and the People's Front counts on the minority federations as partners in this. One of the main elements of the economic policy conception is that domestic work and capital can be the main sources of rebuilding the country, foreign working capital can simply have a supplementary, although important role in this. With respect to society, the document notes that Hungary today needs community democracy, local societies, unions, professional self-governments, which implies something more and different than the multi-party system. The conception pictures a public power which originates from public will, is socially controlled and legally restricted.

Nemeth Addresses Congress

LD1410183289 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—A wide national centre should be created in Hungary, as political stability is inconceivable without this, and extremist efforts could also break free—stressed Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth in his speech at the Congress of the Patriotic People's Front. Organizations that integrate as, for instance, the People's Front, which rises above the party policy fights, can play a significant role in creating the national centre.

The prime minister said he sees the common tasks of the government and the People's Front in that they can jointly promote the self-organization of society. In this respect, Mr Nemeth emphatically stressed the importance of self-government, and civil society.

Pozsgay Addresses Congress

LD1410183889 Budapest MTI in English 1754 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—The Congress of the People's Front was addressed by Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Presidium. Mr Pozsgay stressed that he accepted participation at the forum also in the representation of the new party, the Hungarian Socialist Party. Discussing the HSP congress held last week, he said that the party state and the state party were dismantled, broken down at the Congress, which in turn has opened up the possibility of creating a law-governed state, a new Hungarian statehood.

Mr Pozsgay welcomed the Congress also as one of the leaders of the Movement for a Democratic Hungary, stressing that the new movement is not a rival of the People's Front. It offers an election alliance to the People's Front for the forthcoming political events, and the creation of the new Hungarian statehood.

Nemeth, Poszgay Speeches Reported

LD1510214689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1420 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Presenter] Our leading politicans, including Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth; attended the Ninth Patriotic People's Front Congress, which has been meeting since yesterday.

[Begin Nemeth recording] In our country, the People's Front Movement was the cradle of alternative political thinking. Now the generations who have completed the schoool of the People's Front have scattered to all quarters of the globe, to the most varied areas of public life. Some work in the government, others in the opposition parties, and most of them stand their ground very well. There are many areas where the People's Front—and we heard a fine speech by Istvan Kukorelli about these—works very successfully. But there is one area where the People's Front Movement is really at home. This is the world of self-government, of which political, economic, social, and cultural life alike have a burning need. Self-government is the key to effective, bureaucracy-free state administration, to independent, self-administrating social policy, to the reform of ownership, to settlement development.

The forces of civil society are still asleep; the majority is silent. We have to be careful lest the strong voice of the minority frighten off and condemn the majority to inaction, lest society become the victim of some kind of hypnosis. The responsibility of the People's Front Movement and the government is shared: to facilitate the unfolding of the self-organizing, self-maintaining, and self-protecting forces of society. Without the support of a people's movement, the multi-party system, democracy, has no strength.

Society has at last broken out of the monolithic molds into which it had been forced for decades. On new bases, it is organizing anew, as is the People's Front at its congress today. In order for this to become a real alliance of interests, there is a need for various integrative organizations. Otherwise, the fabric which holds society together is pierced with holes.

The shaping of this could be helped by integrative organizations such as the People's Front, the churches, the National Council of Hungarian Youth Organizations, the New March Front, the Movement for a Democratic Hungary. In the absence of these, extremist views could also attract masses. And then there is no political stability and neither will the transition have a balanced impetus. [end recording]

[Presenter] After this, the prime minister also spoke about the extraordinary importance of the parliamentary session, starting day after tomorrow. [passage omitted] Ivan Vitanyi was also present at the congress, this time representing the New March Front. He announced this political group willingness to cooperate. Minister of State Imre Pozsgay came to the People's Front congress with a similar intention.

[Begin Pozsgay recording] [Words indistinct], which from the very outset declared that it did not wish to be a competitor of the People's Front, but a particular dimension of Hungarian public life, with the possibility of joint participation in arranging the peaceful transition. Now, this movement offers an election alliance to the Patriotic People's Front, on the road to the forthcoming political events, the creation of the new Hungarian constitutional statehood. [applause] [end recording]

[Presenter] We beg your pardon for the tecnical fault just now; the first half of the sentence was missing. Naturally, Imre Pozsgay was alluding to the Movement for a Democratic Hungary. After this he continued with a personal observation.

[Begin Pozsgay recording] A few of my friends here said to me this morning that this people would accept me as the highest dignitary even if I left the party. I cannot satisfy this demand. I have never created my own dignity in some kind of partisanship. But I never believed that belonging to a party is like some kind of rented apartment, which I could leave and exchange in accordance to the dictates of the political changes. For this reason, I believe that, precisely in the token of the consensus, of national cooperation, the way we can believe and trust in one another is if we know who we are, from where we have come, and we do not draw the line of honor on the line of parties, or of non adherence to parties. Because that line runs somewhere near the backbone, and along the line of character. [end recording]

[Presenter] As far as Imre Pozsgay is concerned, there were some who demanded that the People's Front nominate him as a candidate for president of the Republic, because for many years he had done a great deal for this movement, whereas Kalman Kulcsar, whom they want to nominate, had not. Imre Pozsgay did not respond. Kalman Kulcsar, on the other hand, asked to speak in connection with his own nomination.

[Begin Kulcsar recording] As my name has come up here in various connections, for this reason the question can justifiably be put: What do I want, what are my plans, and what do I want to achieve? Esteemed congress, my dear friends, I have ambitious plans. I want to achieve a great deal. Just what this is, allow me to tell it in a story. Many of you know me, know that I was born in a village of County Heves, where my parents were teachers, day laborers of the nation, as they used to say, and they did not get rich on this day labor. They brought up five children respectably, and this is their reward. [applause] Half a century after they left this village, I had the oppoortunity to take them back there and half the village assembled at the news of their arrival, old grandfathers, with their children and grandchildren. And one could see the affection and gratitude shown toward them. I am not so ambitious that I should achieve this; I am not capable of this in my own career. But I would very much like it if the wider public were to evaluate my work in such a way that if one day I am able to return, I would be received with as much affection as they were. Thank you for your attention. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

Kulcsar Elected President

LD1510204289 Budapest MTI in English 1909 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, was elected president of the Patriotic People's Front (PPF) with an overwhelming majority of votes at the national PPF congress in Budapest on Sunday. The other two candidates, Tibor Cseres, president of the Hungarian Writers' Association, and composer Sandor Szokolai withdrew yet before the vote.

Contributing to the congress, Mr Kulcsar said that the People's Front movement, cooperating with, but not affiliated to, the parties, may be a suitable force for uniting the progressive forces. On the process of drafting the constitution, Mr Kulcsar said that the 1949 Constitution cut the thread that connected us to Europe and the Hungarian past. Now we want to retie it. Similarly to other contributors, the minister attributed great importance to self- governments.

Minister of Internal Affairs Istvan Horvath also dealt with the self-governments in his contribution. On the separation of the branches of power, Mr Horvath emphasized the importance of territorial restructuring between the central and local organs, in favour of self-governments. He said that the law on self-government might be a milestone in this aspect.

Summing up the debate, Executive President Istvan Kukoreli urged to establish the guarantees of peaceful transition as soon as possible, withdraw the parties from the places of employment, and declare neutrality as the long-term goal of Hungarian foreign policy. Mr Kukoreli went on to say that the PPF could rely on the Movement for a Democratic Hungary, the New March Front, the churches, and the federations of national minorities as allies, and on the government as a partner. He noted with regret that the representatives of the parties and the democratic opposition stayed away from the congress.

The report was approved by the delegates.

After a long debate, the delegates approved the statutes which declared that 'the Patriotic People's Front is a social organization working as a mass movement for establishing self-governing organs and a law-governed, independent, democratic state ensuring social security,' and 'initiating cooperation between the parties.' The document states that the leaders of the People's Front should not be members of the national leadership of any party.

The congress reelected Executive President Istvan Kukorelli with an overwhelming majority of votes.

Kulcsar Nominated Republic President

LD1510205289 Budapest MTI in English 1914 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—After a long debate, the 19th congress of the Patriotic People's Front nominated Kalman Kulcsar for the post of president of the Republic. The delegates made their choice of two candidates. In an open ballot, Kalman Kulcsar received 411 votes, and Imre Pozsgay 131. Twenty-nine delegates abstained from the vote.

Kulcsar Comments on Election

LD1510205489 Budapest MTI in English 1946 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—After being elected president of the Patriotic People's Front, Kalman Kulcsar gave an interviewed to MTI.

Mr Kulcsar holds his new post compatible with his ministerial post. Nor are they incompatible by law, he said. Since the codificational work carried out in the Ministry of Justice affects society as a whole, support by a social organization makes it easier for the minister to carry out his tasks. Mr Kulcsar stressed that he did not want to resign his ministerial post until he can work under his own conceptions. Therefore he decided that he would not join any party.

Mr Kulcsar said that in his new capacity he would have a greater chance in the presidential elections. He added that, irrespective of his person, it was correct that the People's Front nominated a candidate of its own for the elections and that this candidate was the president of the People's Front.

FIDESZ Holds Congress, Discusses Election

LD1410041289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] The Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] is holding its congress in Budapest's Technical University. Jozsef Orosz reports on the first day of the meeting, which ended a little while ago.

[Orosz] FIDESZ's second congress is determining its political program and election strategy as the democratic opposition in Hungary, after 40 years, has forced the dictatorship to its knees. Gabor Roszik, who is parliamentary deputy from Godollo on behalf of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum], and also a member of FIDESZ, said that the Federation had fulfilled its mission, during the 18 months of its activity, and jointly with the opposition, they can set to work building democracy on the ruins. Gabor Fodor, member of the FIDESZ board, is of the view that the dictatorship is not yet in a state of ruin to the extent they would like it to be.

Viktor Orban, who returned home from Oxford for the congress, said that at the trilateral political coordinating talks, the opposition had shown that they would be able to form a government. However, it had also drawn the lesson that its organization had, after all, been the loser at the series of talks, because it had not managed to come to agreement with the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP] on the issues of the Workers' Guard and party property. By the way, Viktor Orban called the latter issues "yes-no issues," because according to FIDESZ, only one kind of reply can be given—no. Viktor Orban denied that the federation might be incapable of compromise, since it had made a concession to the HSWP in the matter of the adjective "socialist" ending up in the new Constitution. The second congress of FIDESZ will continue tomorrow morning.

Debates Presidential Candidates

LD1410185389 Budapest MTI in English 1813 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—Participants of the Congress of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) held a lengthy debate on Saturday about the various problems related to the election of the president of the Republic. Several speakers proposed that FIDESZ prepare an appeal to boycott the first round of the election. On the other hand, others proposed that FIDESZ nominate a candidate now, in the person of Sandor Racz, president of the Great Budapest Workers' Council of 1956, who is an honorary member of the organization. Opposition Parliamentary MP Gabor Roszik was of the opinion that the opposition organizations should hold negotiations on nominating a joint candidate as, in his view, this is the only chance for the candidate of the opposition to win the election.

The conclusion of the prolonged debated was promoted by the proposals of Viktor Orban. The FIDESZ Congress approved the proposals. Accordingly, FIDESZ does not hold the election of the president of the Republic to be necessary prior to the parliamentary elections, and ensured its further support to the signature collecting action launched by the Alliance of Free Democrats for holding a referendum about the issue. For the time being, FIDESZ does not commit itself to any one single candidate for president. It is to authorize a body on the

closing day of the Congress to hold talks with all candidates who can be considered for the post. FIDESZ has also rejected, for the time being, the boycott of presidential elections. It is to decide on whether it will resort to this means or not only in case consultations with the candidates do not lead to results.

Announces Draft Foreign Program

LD1510113289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Jozsef Orosz reports on the latest developments at the Congress of the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth [FIDESZ].

[Orosz] The Hungarian Social Democratic Party also joins the signature collection initiated by the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats]—that is that a referendum should decide on the person of the president of the Republic only after the setting up of a new National Assembly. On the third day of the FIDESZ congress it was also announced that according to their knowledge, more than 80,000 signatures have been collected up to now, which means that the organization has to collect another 20,000 signatures by 17 October in order for the Presidential Council to announce a referendum.

The FIDESZ Congress started today's work with a plenary session and they have listened to the greetings of the French Socialist Party. Christoph (Seoe) said that on the basis of his impressions he feels that the Hungarians are returning to the Europe of democracy. It is his experience that total dictatorship has retreated in Hungary, thanks also to FIDESZ.

It was announced that the foreign political program draft of FIDESZ is completed, in which they announce that they reject the Yalta Pact which made Europe a possible battle ground of the United States and the Soviet Union. At the same time, every large power has to acknowledge the principle of autonomy of the small states. The FIDESZ states that it does not wish to belong to the interest sphere of any power.

The FIDESZ Congress adopted the economic and social program of the organization a few minutes ago.

Radio Reports Congress

LD1510145189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Excerpts] [Reporter] The congress has adopted the program of FIDESZ [Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth] which proclaims that the new Hungary means a Western style parliamentarian democracy built on a multiparty system in which the government is responsible to the National Assembly and in the parliament deputies are seated who were elected at free elections.

FIDESZ announces at the same time that Hungary's political and military independence is indispensable and the military character of the Warsaw Pact must be reduced in the near future and it must be transformed into a political organization.

They propose to reduce the duration of military service to 6 months and civilian service to 9 months. They ask for guarantees that the Hungarian People's Army should not be able to be employed at internal political events and they ask that a law should order that the exclusive task of the army is defense of the homeland.

According to the document, a consolidating economic program is necessary, the cornerstones of which are an anti-inflation policy and privatization. They have confirmed that the Workers' Guard must be disbanded without a legal successor.

According to the education policy of FIDESZ, the financial background of learning would be established by means of a so-called system of bonds, the sum of which would be decided by the National Assembly. [passage omitted]

It was also announced at the consultation that during the 2 days of the congress 100 people joined FIDESZ and Bela Kiraly, people's army general of 1956, has said that they are faithful followers of the traditions of the young people of March 1848 and October 1956. Bela Kiraly, incidentally was elected as an honorable FIDESZ member.

The National Board of the Hungarian Democratic Forum is holding its session in the same building which has accepted the proposal of the presidium as to the MDSZ [Hungarian Democratic Forum] should nominate an independent candidate for the presidential election. If this will be confirmed by the congress of next weekend, then in the colors of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (Lajos Csuer), science historian will run for the post of the president of the Republic.

At the FIDESZ congress, election of the alliance's leadership is still to come.

Radio Station To Be Established

LD1510214289 Budapest MTI in English 2039 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—After the FIDESZ [Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth] Congress, board member Gabor Fodor announced that the FIDESZ would establish a radio station under the name Kaloz (Pirate) radio. He said that the prospective sponsors would include influential western foundations and individuals. The radio will air programmes for 12 hours a day within a radius of 50-80 kilometres around Budapest.

Defense Minister Karpati Discusses Army, Militia

Youth Organization To Disband

LD1210203389 Budapest MTI in English 1612 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 12 (MTI)—The Hungarian People's Army Committee of the People's Army Youth Organization (NISZ) decided at its Thursday session to gradually dissolve its basic organizations. The decision affects some 30,000 NISZ members. At the same time, the committee proposes that, in line with the government's youth policy concept under preparation, an interest organization should be set up within the Army to represent the rank and file.

The session was attended by Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence. He said that next year parliament is expected to carry the law on party operation and management, stipulating that no party should operate in the Hungarian People's Army.

He said the officers are split in their opinion whether regular soldiers can be party members, but in his view a democratic system should include free party membership. He announced that after the law was enacted he would issue an order that no political organization should operate at Army workplaces and their members should not interfere in Army affairs. He stressed that the Army should not participate in party contests.

Future of Workers' Guard Viewed

LD1210204189 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 12 (MTI)—In June this year the government set up an interdepartmental committee to prepare a proposal on the future of the Workers' Militia, and next Monday [16 October] the proposal is to be discussed by the Council of Ministers. Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence and head of the committee, told MTI that the regular force is to be supplemented by a voluntary body for territorial defence. In peacetime, the corps could be called on in time of natural disasters, and will receive a similar training to that of reserve soldiers. Weapons and other equipment would be kept in Army storehouses, for use in exercises. Proposed names for the body include National Militia, National Guard, People's Militia and Voluntary Defence Force.

Green, October Parties Hold National Meetings

LD0810152789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] The Hungarian Green Party is organizing itself. Today, members are elaborating a detailed program and statute at their national meeting in Tata.

The Hungarian October Party is to hold its second national general assembly in the Jurta Theater at 1400 this afternoon.

23 Oct Committee Holds Press Briefing

LD1110101989 Budapest MTI in English 1925 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 10 (MTI)—The light illuminating the red star on top of Parliament is to be switched off at 6 pm, October 23 and will later be removed, it was announced at the press briefing of the October 23 Committee on Tuesday.

Members of the committee said they still insisted on making October 23 a national holiday. They do not accept that the day of the 1956 revolution be merely a national memorial day as recommended at the HSP congress.

They announced that it had become final that 22 organizations would assist the October 23 Committee to cover the expenses of the commemorations on October 23. It was also stated at the press briefing that Jeno Fonay, member of the committee, held negotiations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs last week to the effect that applications for visas to attend the ceremonies on October 23 will be accepted.

Press Briefing on Upcoming Winter Fuel Supply

LD1010165489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] There will be no shortage of natural gas and petrol in Hungary, the leaders of the National Petroleum and Gas Industry Trust promise. At their press briefing today, they also admitted that there were problems with chemical industry petrol, and if the weather becomes very cold, the population's gas services could be stopped for a few days, since various installations may run out. It could also happen that several-meterlong cracks might develop in the Friendship Petroleum pipeline, because the welding has been bad for a length of several kilometers on the Hungarian side of the border. However, there is no money at the moment to replace the faulty stretch of the pipeline.

Further Reports on GDR Refugee Situation

Skubiszewski Opposes Deportations

LD1210161889 Warsaw PAP in English
1346 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—"Since the time the FRG Embassy in Warsaw admitted GDR citizens, who thus wanted to go to the FRG, I have taken a stand that Poland will not deport anybody. This stand is still topical," Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski was quoted as saying by the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity paper today.

"Departures from one German state to the other the matter of the GDR and the FRG. Poland is not going to substantially deal with this problem. However, because of the presence of GDR refugees in Poland, we have been involved in this issue to some extent. So far, it has proved possible to have the refugees transported to the FRG two times with the consent of the GDR. I hope that such a solution will be also reached in the future," Skubiszewski told the paper.

"It is our duty to settle the refugee issues in a humanitarian and pragmatic way... and pragmatism means the maintenance of good relations with the GDR and the FRG," he said.

"The question of sending back (would-be refugees) from the border zone of GDR citizens who have crossed the border at points other than those meant for it should be addressed to the Interior Ministry and border guards," Skubiszewski added.

"I am still of the opinion that no deportations should take place and I make every effort to prevent them from occurring... and I am conducting talks on this issue but I cannot reveal their content," the foreign minister stated.

GDR's Ott Received for Talks

LD1310211689 Warsaw PAP in English
2032 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 13: According to the plan of cooperation between foreign ministries of the GDR and Poland, secretary of state at the Polish Foreign Ministry Boleslaw Kulski and GDR's Foreign Vice-Minister Harry Ott met here today.

The sides discussed selected issues of bilateral relations and current matters interesting both states.

Harry Ott was received by Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Further on Discussions With Ott

LD1410184989 Warsaw PAP in English
1804 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14: GDR Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Harry Ott, on a visit here on October 13 and 14, held consultations with Secretary of State in Poland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Boleslaw Kulski and was received by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

During the talks the Polish side was briefed, among other things, on the GDR government's proposals for a humanitarian solution of the problem of GDR citizens staying in Warsaw and seeking emigration to the FRG.

The Polish side received with satisfaction the GDR government's decision allowing the GDR citizens concerned to receive shortly in the GDR Embassy here suitable documents permitting them to travel to a third country of their choice. It was settled that the departures will proceed gradually.

DPA Report

LD1510123889 Hamburg DPA in German
1159 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The number of GDR refugees in Warsaw who are waiting to emigrate in the coming week, as announced, rose today to 1,200. The Polish Foreign Ministry confirmed that the settlement on emigration between Poland and the GDR is valid "indefinitely". It will remain valid for all would-be emigrants coming to Poland in the future. The processing of emigration documents is to begin at the GDR's Embassy in Warsaw on Monday [16 October] morning. It is still unclear how the refugees will leave the country. So far planes and ferries have been cited as means of transport. With the start of the autumn holidays in the GDR the number of those seeking refugee in Warsaw leapt up. By Friday evening 820 people had registered at the Federal Republic's Embassy; by midday Sunday around 400 more had arrived.

Mazowiecki Receives FRG Politician Vogel

LD1110184489 Warsaw PAP in English
1435 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 11—Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received today Hans-Jochen Vogel, SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] chairman, vice-president of the Socialist International and popular FRG politician.

Mazowiecki briefed Vogel on the social and economic aspects of the ongoing democratic transformations in Poland. The two politicians also discussed prospects for bilateral relations and selected international problems.

The meeting was attended by FRG Ambassador to Warsaw Franz Joachim Schoeller.

Rakowski Receives Ebert Foundation Envoys

LD1110102289 Warsaw PAP in English
1855 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—First PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] Central Committee Secretary

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received here today a delegation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation with its president Holger Boerner.

Attached to the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the foundation has been cooperating with scientific and public centres in Poland for many years.

The talk concerned the reformation processes within the PUWP in the context of preparations for the 11th Congress.

Relating to the initiative to open an office of the Ebert Foundation here, Mieczyslaw Rakowski expressed the PUWP readiness to support its activity.

Jaruzelski Receives Pact Military Council

AU1210142589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP—President and General of Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, commander in chief of the Polish Armed Forces, received the participants of the 40th anniversary meeting of the Military Council of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces at the Belvedere Palace on 5 October.

Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces, briefed the president on the results of the Military Council's discussions.

The talk, which was also attended by General of Army Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, touched upon matters linked to the strengthening of cooperation between the armed forces of the allied states, the preservation of a defensive capability and combat readiness of the coalitionary forces at a minimum level of sufficiency, and the improvement of armed forces and staff training of the allied armies. The international and internal processes taking place in the Warsaw Pact member states and their armed forces were noted.

The meeting was attended by the heads of the delegations that participated in the 40th meeting of the Military Council of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces: Bulgaria—Colonel General Kh. Dobrev; Czechoslovakia—Colonel General K. Rusov; the GDR—Colonel General F. Streletz; Poland—General of Arms A. Jasinski; Romania—Lieutenant General E. Eftimescu; Hungary—Colonel General L. Morocz; and the Soviet Union—Army General M. I. Sorokin.

Spanish Daily Interviews Skubiszewski

PM1210152889 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 8 Oct 89 p 8

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Ricardo Estarriol; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[passage omitted] [Estarriol] Do you share the opinion—common in what were hitherto Poland's opposition circles—concerning certain parallels between Spain and Poland with regard to the transition to democracy?

[Skubiszewski] Despite the differences, Spain's experience is instructive and the transformations that have taken place in Spain permit us to look more optimistically at our own by no means easy possibilities. On the other hand it is difficult to cite the Spanish example with regard to the economy, because even during General Franco's regime there was a market economy. In our country, however, we have to start building from scratch. As for the inflow of currency, as you know, Poland is not a country of mass tourism, and this constitutes a major difference.

[Estarriol] How far could or should Poland's foreign policy be changed by the fact that the opposition has acceded to the government?

[Skubiszewski] The chief characteristic of our foreign policy is that we are independent of other countries and independent in internal affairs. Proceeding from this stance, we guarantee observance of our international commitments and take account of our partners' interests. At the same time we aspire to surmount the division of Europe, which is abnormal and damaging.

[Estarriol] What have been the errors in Polish foreign policy since the war?

[Skubiszewski] Since the war it has sometimes happened that the Polish state has not had a policy of its own. This was something more than an error. But such things belong to the past. There is a great deal to correct in our relations with both West and East. In past years the West too readily classified us as being on the "losing" side and also too readily confined its concept of Europe to its own environment. At the same time, during the Stalinist era and subsequently our sovereignty was violated and real equality was eliminated.

[Estarriol] What stance will you adopt, as foreign minister, with regard to the fact that there are increasingly sharp differences and even conflicts of interest within the eastern bloc?

[Skubiszewski] Within the Warsaw Pact there are certain obligations that are the same for all its members. We will fulfill them on a reciprocal basis. Apart from that, the Warsaw Pact by no means embraces the totality of relations among its member countries. And there is room for differences in the shaping of bilateral or subregional relations—in the field of economic cooperation, for instance. CEMA needs to be thoroughly reformed; otherwise it will become a useless body. It is already difficult to talk in terms of a bloc. The word "bloc" presupposes something monolithic, which is no longer the case.

[Estarriol] How would you define the concept of reason of state in Poland today, at a time when democratization processes are under way in the Eastern bloc and at a time of international detente?

[Skubiszewski] Continuity in foreign policy is reflected above all in the effort to create in Europe a security system for all countries and conditions that will facilitate their cooperation. Another aspect of continuity is disarmament. I would like to point out that since the recovery of independence in 1918 we have played our own part in defining international legislation against war and in disarmament policy, starting with the 1925 Geneva Protocol (banning chemical and bacteriological weapons), via the League of Nations' disarmament conference, to the projects and plans that the Polish Government has presented since 1957. However, the key thing for us is to formulate a state strategy on our relations with the USSR. Here continuity will combine with other factors.

[Estarriol] What does "transcending" Yalta mean for Poland?

[Skubiszewski] Yalta, seen in terms of the major powers' domination of the smaller countries, must be rejected. However, state borders originating in the Yalta conference agreements are part of the modern European order and cannot be challenged. We are entitled to choose whatever political system we want, irrespective of what was said at Yalta. It is necessary to overcome all the evil that has accumulated in international relations since the war—from the division into blocs to exaggerated forms of nationalism.

[Estarriol] Do you consider it desirable for Poland to acquire the status of a neutral country in the foreseeable future?

[Skubiszewski] It would be impossible now for Poland to become a neutral country such as Finland without destabilizing the European order. In the future, however, if the elimination of the blocs is achieved, the situation could change. In the modern world the blocs are becoming an anachronism and we will try to ensure that they function in accordance with international law and, when the conditions are right, that they are disbanded.

[Estarriol] Do you believe the concept of "Central Europe" could acquire some kind of political expression?

[Skubiszewski] It is better not to use the term, which in the past—especially during World War I—signified German domination of this region. It is a fact, however, that the border that currently divides the continent passes through here. I believe that the region in which Poland is situated could perform a bridging role in surmounting barriers in all fields. However, it is necessary to transcend the blocs in Europe, not to subdivide it even further.

[Estarriol] How does the government intend to act in response to statements by members of the Israeli cabinet suggesting that the Polish authorities should exert pressure on the Catholic Church to fulfill the pledges made in the Geneva Declaration concerning the Carmelite convent at Auschwitz?

[Skubiszewski] There is no need to convince the Church about fulfilling the undertakings of the Geneva declaration. The statement by the Episcopal Commission on the Dialogue with Judaism on 6 September, the stance of the Commission on Religious Relations with Judaism of 19 September 1989, and statements by Polish cardinals are unequivocal and open the way to the resumption of the construction of the Center for Information, Education, Meetings, and Prayer. This should end the arguments about the convent. The government and other state bodies have never been involved in the conflict, but have favored its solution and will continue to help in the same direction.

[Estarriol] Hungary has established diplomatic relations with Israel. Could Poland do the same?

[Skubiszewski] I do not want to comment on Hungary: It is its own independent decision and is unrelated to any future decision of ours. (Poland's) relations with Israel must be normalized promptly and fully. Prime Minister Mazowiecki stated in his speech to the Sejm his desire to establish relations with all countries, and first and foremost, with those with which they have been severed. It is no secret that Israel is in this latter group. The progress achieved in the past 3 years in many fields of cooperation and the ties that exist at various level between the Polish and Israeli peoples are a convincing argument for the resumption of our relations with Israel. When we do so it will not alter our determination to maintain friendly relations with the Arabs.

[Estarriol] As an expert on German affairs and as foreign minister, do you believe that a possible reunification of Germany would threaten the security of Poland and of the European nations as a whole?

[Skubiszewski] The shaping of mutual relations between the two German states and their possible reunification is a matter for the German themselves. Nobody can deny the German people the right to self-determination and to decide on their own state, political, and economic development.

However, bearing in mind the present situation in Europe and the experiences of the past, Germany's reunification must be regarded as a problem that can find its solution within a European perspective.

We cannot imagine such a process without the simultaneous transcending of the divisions in Europe and an improved climate of trust between East and West. Nor would it be possible without taking account of the opinion of the four powers and the interests of all the European countries, including the countries neighboring Germany. Under no circumstances must Germany's reunification lead to a new system of hegemony in Europe. Reunification cannot take place at the expense of any country's security or if it means jeopardizing any country's borders. In any case the German people's reunification into a single state is a distant prospect.

Jaruzelski Speech at Banquet for Spanish King

AU1010200289 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Oct 89 p 3

[Speech by President Wojciech Jaruzelski at a banquet in honor of King Juan Carlos I of Spain and Queen Sofia in Warsaw on 3 October]

[Text] Your Majesties, esteemed Spanish guests, ladies and gentlemen! I warmly welcome Your Majesties and entourage to Polish soil.

Never before has a Spanish monarch been a guest of our state. Therefore this visit is a major event in the centuries-old history of relations between our countries.

Over the centuries, these relations have established comprehensive and permanent links of culture and sentiment. We are drawing from this treasury today, reaching to the common roots of our European civilization.

This is encouraged by the warm, patriotic love of freedom in both counties. The ethical code, which you call "Hispanidad," has ancient Polish equivalents.

There was a time when both our countries were considered "superpowers" in Europe. The fates of empires have been changeable, and judgments passed by history have often been unfavorable. But both our countries have made a permanent contribution to the universal values of the human race.

The beginning of the Renaissance brought Europe not only the great work of Nicholas Copernicus, but also the discoveries of Christopher Columbus.

The Royal University of Salamanca was the first European educational establishment to teach our great astronomer's theory as a compulsory subject. Also symbolic is the fact that the famous 16th century globe in the Collegium Maius in Krakow shows the outline of the American continent. This is proof that even 500 years ago, ideas were able to transcend geographical boundaries and political and religious barriers.

Spain's great culture, ranging from Cervantes to Bonuel, from El Greco to Joan Miro, from Calderon to Arrabal, has always enjoyed great popularity in Poland. A major inspiration for European painters was provided not only by the classic works of the great Spanish school of painting—Murillo, Velasquez, and Goya—but also by the major works of your modern school of painting.

It is our desire to permit the present easy flow of culture to bring to Spain a greater knowledge of old and modern masterpieces of Polish national culture.

Your Majesties, ladies and gentlemen! The fate of the Poles and Spaniards has followed various, often tragic roads in past centuries. Spain experienced the misfortune of bloody civil war. Poland, the target of a barbarous attack, suffered terrible losses during World War II. The experience of history, still fresh in the minds of society, compels us to search steadfastly for roads to a better, safer Europe—to mutual confidence, disarmament, and most of all a perpetuation of the fundamental components of territorial security on our continent.

Today, Poland and Spain are contributing to a consolidation of the European climate of detente. This is eminently confirmed by the major role of medium-sized countries in the joint shaping of a modern, more democratic model of relations in Europe.

We value Spain's international activity, especially its contribution to the progress achieved in the CSCE process. Your Majesty's personal commitment to the building of bridges between the divided halves of the continent is also well known.

The Spanish authorities understanding and kindness during these difficult times for Poland are appreciated by Polish society. Despite our membership of different political and military pacts, we have a joint desire to raise the level of bilateral cooperation.

In political contacts, we have achieved good, encouraging results. However, economic cooperation is still disproportionate to the potentials of both countries and the complementary character of their economies. We hope that the near future will bring major progress in this sphere.

We are carefully watching the processes in Spain that have brought such an acceleration of economic development in recent years. Your experience in applying different types of economic instruments while at the same time reserving the conditions necessary for social stabilization enjoys broad interest in our country as well.

Your Majesties, esteemed Spanish guests and friends! Great comprehensive changes are taking place in Poland right now. We wish to protect and continue everything that has brought our country tested, historic advantages, and firmly reject everything that has not withstood the test of time. I am convinced that you, Your Majesty, are well acquainted with the essence of these changes on account of your role in the complex process of altering the political structure in Spain.

Today, at a time of so many transformations on our continent, an enrichment of the cooperation between Poland and Spain is assuming particular significance. The roads to democracy are various, but the characteristic feature of European social and cultural identity is and should remain the equality of, a respect for, and a mutual enrichment of various political and social solutions.

I am convinced that Your Majesties' visit and talks in Warsaw will further tighten the friendship between our peoples, expand Polish-Spanish cooperation in all spheres, and encourage our countries activity in the international arena.

I propose a toast to the health and success of His Majesty King Juan Carlos of Spain and Her Majesty Queen Sofia, the health of our Spanish friends, Polish-Spanish friendship, and peace in Europe and the world.

PZPR Plenum Stand on Pre-Congress Tasks

AU1110091389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Oct 89 p 3

["Stance of the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum on the Party's Main Tasks in the Period Preceding the 11th Congress" adopted during the second half of the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum held in Warsaw on 3 October]

[Text] At this turning-point in Poland's history, under entirely new conditions for party activity, and in the face of great opportunities, as well as difficulties and dangers, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] sets out its position on the changes that are taking place in the country and the party's main tasks.

I

1. Guided by a critical assessment of past experience, drawing conclusions from the radically changed situation, and taking into account the results of the party opinion poll, we are in favor of introducing fundamental changes in the PZPR aimed at creating a new party, a party of the Polish socialist left; a party that is capable of formulating long-term and current programs and of effectively representing and defending the interests of working people who depend on what they earn through their work; a party that is modern organizationally and can act effectively; a party that can become the driving force behind a broad left wing front in Poland, can win social confidence and support, and is able to offer resistance to the pressure of right wing circles and tendencies.

The Central Committee emphasizes that this role can only be performed by a party that will, at this decisive moment, defend its political unity, while respecting the diversity of views and tendencies within its own ranks. The party's full programmatic and organizational form will be defined by the debate preceding the 11th Congress and the decisions made at it.

2. We want to influence the character of public life in Poland in line with the principles of social justice; people's democracy—representative democracy and self-administration; respect for the dignity of man, his rights and freedoms, and personal development; and the high social and ethical status of work, patriotism, and friendship between peoples.

We support the idea of a civic society based on ensuring that working people genuinely occupy a position of joint managers and owners of national wealth. We believe that the system of parliamentary democracy should find broad foundations in the development of social self-administration.

We will support changes in ownership that will provide the optimal way of combining high productivity, just distribution, and work force participation in making decisions about work place issues. We see the path leading to this in the development of various effective forms of socialized ownership—state, cooperative, self-management, municipal, and employee share ownership—as well as in strengthening the institutional position of economically healthy family farms.

We also support the equality of all sectors and diverse forms of ownership and the development of an efficient private sector wherever it can operate more effectively and satisfy social needs better. However, we are opposed to selling off all or fundamental parts of national wealth. The process of developing forms of ownership should proceed under public supervision and work force trade union and self-management rights should be guaranteed under new forms of ownership.

We believe that the social effects produced by the essential move of placing the Polish economy on a market footing should be regulated by an active state policy. The cost of restoring equilibrium and entering on a path of economic development should not be borne solely by people who maintain themselves through their own work, as well as by pensioners and those who receive benefits.

We will demand that social policy ensure equality regarding rights and opportunities; equal conditions for starting out in life, especially with respect to equal access to education, health care, and culture; and that it guarantee the necessary assistance to those who are not in a position to maintain themselves through their own efforts. We will resolutely oppose the elimination of working people's social achievements.

We will support all efforts to protect and foster the natural environment made by the state and by social movements.

We support the free circulation of information, and oppose replacing the old political and propaganda monopoly with a new one.

We support the continuation of detente in international relations, the maintenance of our state's alliances, which have proved their worth, and the idea of a common European home.

II

1. The Central Committee affirms its position on the rapid formation of a constitutional commission, which will commence work on the draft of a new Constitution. We believe that elements have to be introduced into the Constitution that will reflect current achievements produced by reform thinking and changes in the political system and economy, and will express the ideas of parliamentary democracy, political pluralism, civic society, local self-administration and employee self-management, guarantees of civil rights and liberties, the

equal status of the different sectors of the economy, and the role of the state in a market economy.

2. The Central Committee supports the full realization of the idea of regional self-administration. We call on the PZPR Deputies' Club to submit a legislative proposal that would create a legal basis for according self-administration bodies autonomy and the role of expressing local community interests. We believe that the legal foundations of self-administration should be built on a new law on the system of self-administration in our country, as well as on changes to the electoral code, the budget law, the law on municipal property, and a clear definition of the powers of the state administration and of self-administration bodies.

We believe that a public debate should be held on the subject of changes in the administration of the country with a view to making it better suited to the social and economic character that regions have developed, as well as on the creation of economically autonomous regional units that are capable of making effective use of extensive self-administration powers.

The fully democratic election of regional self-administration organs should also be preceded by the adoption of a law on political parties and the commencement of activities by such parties on new foundations.

3. The Central Committee calls on the PZPR Deputies' Club to continue with or launch legislative initiatives concerning the following:

—an economic, financial, and fiscal system that will guarantee genuine equal rights for all ownership sectors;

—economic relations with foreign countries;

—a pension and benefits systems, including such a system for private farmers;

—criminal law, misdemeanors, civil law, penitentiary law;

—a legal settlement concerning the establishment and activities of political parties;

—a law of assembly;

—a law on Polish citizenship.

4. The Central Committee stresses the harmony between the fundamental goals of our party and the aspirations of the class-based trade union movement as well as of farmers' social and occupational organizations and the desire of the PZPR to engage in cooperation with the trade union movement in order to effectively defend the achievements and to realize the ideals of labor.

We charge party organizations and committees as well as party members with engaging in partner-like cooperation aimed at defending the interests of work forces and heeding the efficiency requirements of economic renewal.

We affirm our readiness to cooperate with all trade union organizations on this basis.

5. The selection and advancement of managerial personnel should be the focus of particular attention on the part of party cells. We will seek to influence this process within the law and on the basis of the same principles as other groupings that are interested in the advancement of their own personnel. The development of a system for the advancement of personnel within their own communities is a pressing task for party organizations and committees. The preparation of our personnel for competitive appointments to managerial positions should be aided by, among other things, the reform of party centers and educational and research institutions.

We welcome the government statement on a personnel policy that is based exclusively on the criteria of qualifications and loyalty to the state. At the same time, we express concern over instances in which this principle is undermined in practice. The party will resolutely oppose all settlements of personnel matters based on considerations other than those that have substantive relevance.

6. The Central Committee recommends that the structure of the party apparatus and the way in which it operates be reformed with a view to adapting them to suit the new conditions for party activity; this includes the creation of appropriate support facilities for the Deputies' Club and teams of people's council members. At the same time, the Central Committee stresses that attempts to oppose the party apparatus diminish its strength and ability to operate.

We have the campaign preceding the 11th Congress ahead of us. We want preparations for the congress to provide an opportunity for open dialogue and for forming a broad front of all generations of the Polish left. We propose establishing a nationwide forum of the Polish left. We hope that a joint discussion involving all elements and tendencies within the Polish left will map out a path for social progress in Poland and will bring closer the vision of a humanist, democratic socialism that is directed toward the future and the aspirations of the younger generation of Poles.

Kiszczak Views Ministry of Internal Affairs

AU1110180589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 oct 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with General of Arms General Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs, by Jerzy Sieradzinski: "We Live in a New Reality"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Sieradzinski] For some time now in our society there has been a growing feeling that personal security is coming under threat. There is an increased incidence of theft, assault, and violence. We all feel the need to be more effectively protected by the services that watch over public order. At the same time, it is increasingly said that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is a "budget guzzler," and the proverbial "fifth wheel on the wagon"

of a democratic country. How do these opinions influence the way the ministry functions and the attitude of its functionaries?

[Kiszczak] All inflamatory criticism aimed at the ministry, especially the view that financial cuts in the ministry's budget can save the state budget, only leads public debate on the ministry up the road of sterile emotions.

In essence, such argumentation harms public interest, because it worsens the atmosphere that surrounds the ministry, encourages criminals, blocks mutual trust, and reduces public support in combating crime. That is why when we appeal for reason and an objective approach, we do not have narrow sectional interests at heart, but a chance to more effectively perform our service to the public and the duties that flow from it.

Concrete public criticism rarely provokes irritation among those people who do not have anything to reproach themselves for. The vast majority of the functionaries in the ministry are such people. This sort of criticism enables one to improve one's work. However, vicious attacks, hearsay that detracts from the dignity and authority of our functionaries, malicious, hollow accusations and generalizations, only lead to frustration and bitterness among those who serve the public with application and devotion.

[Sieradzinski] In reality, the ability to operate effectively, as well as action that leads to an increased rate of crime detection, depend in a large measure on the relationship the militia has with the public and the level of public support it receives during such operations. What can be done to change the bad atmosphere that surrounds the militia?

[Kiszczak] Broadly, it depends on two things. First, we need a ministry that is a more effective performer and whose work is made more efficient and, second, we need to see whether the hostile anti-ministry campaign will cease. Thus, not all depends on us.

In turn, certain preconditions that will limit the sharp rise in some categories of crime; crimes which are the greatest burden on the public, and the related improvement in personal security, are not solely dependent on us, but on increasing social discipline and respect for the law. This, in turn, is mainly dependent on progress in the economic sphere, economic normalization, and whether we can dispel public anxiety about the economic situation. The sharpest rise has been in crime against property, that is to say, thefts, burglaries, muggings, and so forth.

At the ministry we are engaged in implementing changes related to the methods of functioning and organization. These changes aim at strengthening and assisting the militia in its forward positions, at the cutting edge of the fight with crime, precisely where we lack manpower, means, and equipment. We are, however, optimistic about achieving rapid results that will come about with these changes, but, and I stress again, the fight against crime today has become a widespread social problem.

[Sieradzinski] During your hearings before the Sejm commission you proposed, comrade, a program of changes that elicited mixed feelings. Some people regarded your proposals as seriously limiting the scope of action of the militia and the security branch services, while others accused you of not going far enough, the proposed reforms being called timid, too vague, and cosmetic. What is the real situation?

[Kiszczak] Both the arguments that you have mentioned are extremes, and cannot be accepted. It is an anachronism to think that the militia and the security services can carry on with the same range of activities after the elections and after the political and social results of the changes that were begun by the party's initiative of the "roundtable". For example, the representatives of the erstwhile illegal groups, who came in for attention from the security services because they were illegal, are now members of the parliament and the government of the Polish People's Republic.

We are living in a new social and political reality that arose through the political will of the party, which was expressed in the 10th Central Committee Plenum; a reality that the party is still helping to shape today. Whoever wants the ministry to remain unchanged is not a realistically thinking person and perhaps does not wish us at all well.

On the other hand, cries for immediate radical and profound changes are utopian and dangerous, for they ignore the role that the ministry is playing as a stabilizer in this difficult time of change; a time which is full of dangers. Such cries sometimes have an abolitionary flavor about them and cannot really be treated seriously. In reality, the changes that I forecast at my hearings before the parliamentary commission are being methodically and painstakingly prepared. They have to be optimal solutions, that is to say, they must adapt the ministry to the new social and political situation, and on the other hand, they must ensure a more effective realization of tasks which are specified in the statute on the Minister of Internal Affairs and the organs of that ministry.

[Sieradzinski] There is no country anywhere in the whole world that does not have specialist and efficiently functioning security services. Here at home in many circles their very existence is spoken of as "a great state sin." Is this just a misunderstanding?

[Kiszczak] All beliefs and views that are tinged with extreme radical interpretations usually indicate that emotion has prevailed over sane reasoning, and a sign of the blind obduracy that is engendered in the heat of the political struggle. Thankfully, all extremisms are marginal phenomena.

Past and present experience throughout the world, and of all cultural and political systems, shows that security

services which protect the internal security of the state, its political order, and legal system are essential.

These services can be organized and implemented in different ways. They can enjoy various prerogatives. But they always exist. The question whether a security service should exist is not really a subject that merits discussion. What is more productive is to work on trying to improve its structures, the way it functions, and its operational methods, and this is what we are doing.

[Sieradzinski] There is a prevailing myth that the militia and the security services have everything they desire, astronomically high earnings, holidays in the best resorts, and many other privileges. What is the actual situation as regards pay? What is the actual level of technical equipment these services have?

[Kiszczak] Myths are tough and live long lives. It is very difficult to fight them. Details of salaries and the so-called privileges have often been published in the past. One of the most objective indicators of the popularity of any profession, or type of work is that people will do anything to get in if it is really attractive. The ministry has on average 8.7 percent unfilled posts and this situation is deteriorating. In the militia branch this figure reaches 11.2 percent. There is a distinct trend to leave the service, and the economic reason is the one most frequently given. Additionally, in the great cities where the work is most difficult and the crime rate the highest, the labor market has more attractive work possibilities. It is precisely here that we have the most unfilled vacancies.

If we do not succeed in making our militia service more attractive in places where the vacancies are increasing, then I conclude with great anxiety that the unfavorable signs of which we have talked will increase, and substantially worsen the public order and security situation.

[Sieradzinski] It has become fashionable to demand the so-called depolitization of the ministry, and what one assumes to be the expulsion of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. What does the leadership of the ministry think about this?

[Kiszczak] Depolitization is a slogan cast by the old opposition in the course of the fierce fight against and political attacks on the PZPR and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It is understood as "eradicating the party," that is, the elimination of the PZPR's presence from the structures of the ministry. There are therefore two types of pressures on the ministry. On the one hand, there is the tendency to press for the removal of our party, and on the other side there is the argument that seeks to admit all other legal parties, and even trade unions, which would operate in the ministry on the basis of equality. The official position of the ministry's leadership is clear. We cannot allow the ministry to become a battleground for political struggle and rivalries.

Personally, as a long serving activist of the PZPR and a member of its authorities, I consider that we shall have to analyze this conflict very deeply, and prepare the best possible suggestion for its solution. The suggestion has to be an optimal solution, that is to say, it must be in the interests of the ministry and in line with the principles of its activity, but at the same time, it must be in the interests of the party, its political authority and prestige.

Binding decisions in this matter can only be taken by parliament, for example, in the law on political parties, which can resolve this question.

[Sieradzinski] My final question. How does a deputy premier and minister of internal affairs, who is also a party member, feel in a government that is led by representatives of other political orientations?

[Kiszczak] I occupy the post of deputy premier and minister of internal affairs with the approbation of the party. Its authorities have pronounced themselves positively on the subject of participation in the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and they regard their pronouncement as proof of real support for his aims and statements. In accordance with the tasks that the party has seen fit to delegate to me, I accepted the position which was offered by the premier.

How do I feel? Tasks have accumulated, difficulties and complications have multiplied, and as a result I have no time to reflect on how I feel. Up till now, cooperation with other members of the cabinet has preceded smoothly and in an amicable manner. I hope this will continue.

[Sieradzinski] I would like to thank you for the interview, and in the name of TRYBUNA LUDU I wish to convey, through your good offices, our warmest regards to all the functionaries of the militia and the security services on the occasion of Militia Day.

Kiszczak: Trend in Crime 'Very Unfavorable'

AU1110201789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7-8 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Deputy Premier General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs, by Krystyna Chrupkowa: "Universal Rules"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Chrupkowa] A complete change in your views has occurred, including on the subject of the Interior Ministry concept, which is now meant to be different. Therefore my question is: Are any of the rules that have been in force in this ministry until now still valid and worthy of continuation? What new tasks and goals are you setting the people who serve under you?

[Kiszczak] I have altered my views in the past, and have also done so recently, but there is no question of a "complete change of views." What would be the point of pretending that "I was born yesterday," know nothing, remember nothing, and have no faults or achievements

on my record? Instead, any radical breakthrough and turnabout makes me skeptical.

As far as the rules and principles behind the activity of the Interior Ministry are concerned, then as far as I understand things, all the rules will remain in force, for these are universal rules and apply to the professional work of our officials and to their moral attitudes. Such principles are the rule of law, objectivism, an equal application of the law to everyone, discipline and subordination at work, and many others. I will increase efforts to make these principles firmly applied by everyone, at every level of activity.

The Interior Ministry concept, as you call it, does not depend directly on me, nor on any change in my views. This concept is established by the law, by the Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs Act, plus other legal instruments.

The Interior Ministry is still faced with the same general tasks—protecting Poland's domestic security and public order, combating crime, and guarding the personal safety and rights of citizens of the Polish People's Republic.

[Chrupkowa] Some people think that my article called "The Militia Is Becoming Weak, Crime is Increasing" is an attempt to frighten society. The Interior Ministry is accused of doing the same. Therefore, please could you give a clear stance on this subject, and explain the growth in crime.

[Kiszczak] If anyone feels unjustifiably frightened by writers or militiamen, it means he is not afraid of burglars, thieves, rowdies, and con men, in other words he thinks that there is perfect law and order in Poland. I am deliberately being ironic in order to point out that the same people who call for cuts in the Interior Ministry budget also say that the militia is neglecting its duties and that crime is increasing. As the saying goes, if one wants to hit a dog, one will always find a stick.

Generally, crime has settled at a not too high level over the past few years—about 1,250 crimes a year for every 100,000 people, considerably less than in most West European countries and the United States.

Unfortunately, the trend in some crime categories is very unfavorable. Burglaries of private premises have increased by over 40 percent in relation to previous months, raids by thieves have increased by over 24 percent, thefts of private property have increased by over 20 percent, and cases of breaking and entering into public premises have increased by over 12 percent. As we can see, crimes against property have risen alarmingly. Unfortunately, fewer and fewer crimes in these categories are being solved, which is an additional encouragement for potential offenders.

The reasons for this state of affairs are complex, and I will not try to analyze them. I will leave that to specialists, criminologists, sociologists, and perhaps economists as well. After all, one reason for this increased crime is without doubt the shortage of goods.

Another reason, which concerns me in particular, is the deterioration in the conditions under which militiamen perform their services, together with shortages of staff and equipment and the low social prestige of the militiaman's profession.

The unfavorable climate surrounding the militia is not just the result of the bad features of militia work, but also the long-lasting campaign directed against militia officers, this being part of a sharp political struggle. I hope that the stabilization of the political system caused by the appointment of the new government, which is based on a greatly expanded political base, will make views and attitudes vis-a-vis the Interior Ministry calmer and more rational.

[Chrupkowa] The figures on the numerical status of the Interior Ministry revealed by General Pudysz at the meeting of the Senate Human Rights and Law and Order Commission have caused disbelief. Please could you state the exact number of people in the militia, Security Service, and other services.

[Kiszczak] Each month I receive a report on the status of cadres in the ministry, and each month the figures differ. People come and go, that is normal. However, in view of the difficult economic and social situation of Interior Ministry officers, these figures could have varied by hundreds in recent months.

Exact personnel figures were provided quite recently at the request of journalists. They were contained in an article by W. Markiewicz in POLITYKA and in one by J.S. Mac in PRAWO I ZYCIE. However, Mr Mac disbelieved what he himself had written. Both journalists quoted the exact figures available on 31 July.

Now that we have entered a phase of structural changes, which I announced during my parliamentary hearing, most of the staff figures will lose their validity. Therefore, I would suggest that personnel figures should not be published until the present changes have been completed.

[Chrupkowa] I realize that no figures about the intelligence and counterintelligence services are issued. Even so, let us say a few words about them. What is the raison d'etre of these services today? What use are they to society? Is it true that the economic intelligence service is improving the state of our economy? Is that the case everywhere, or are we the only country that is so "immoral"?

[Kiszczak] The intelligence and counterintelligence services are as old as the state itself, as old as its borders and secrets. Intelligence and counterintelligence services will exist everywhere as long as a country's economic and state interests require certain secrets to be kept.

Indeed, the economic advantages of the economic intelligence have occasionally outweighed the cost of maintaining the entire Interior Ministry. Therefore, there is no point in having any scruples in this regard. The most famous firms in the world spend as much on economic espionage as they do on their own research. As we have painfully experienced many times, there is no room for sentiment in business interests.

At the same time, despite appearances, the losses to the national economy caused by corruption, carelessness, and even too much talk by our citizens is still considerable. That means that we are still going to have a lot of work in this sphere, unfortunately. The state treasury will feel the advantages of this work.

[Chrupkowa] There is no doubt that the greatest accusation that has ever been made against the Interior Ministry is the so-called letter from Sejm Deputy Kowalczyk, saying that "Interior Ministry services have carried out almost 100 political murders since martial law." Please could you comment on that.

[Kiszczak] Well, the accusation was made in public, from the Sejm rostrum, in the presence of the majority of deputies form every single deputies club. Unfortunately, there has still been no Sejm reaction. Today is not the time for arbitrary commentaries, even if people's tongues are itching. There is a special Sejm commission that is investigating Deputy Kowalczyk's accusations.

All I can do is say in a private capacity that I am surprised and shocked by many of the facts contained in this letter, which, by the way, I only received after a delay of many weeks and repeated requests.

For my part, I have said that the ministry will fully cooperate with this commission loyally, and I deeply hope that its work will serve as a model of honesty, justice, and objectivity. In any case, we have been washing our own ministerial dirty laundry for a long time, without ironing it.

[Chrupkowa] The Voluntary Citizens Militia Reserve [ORMO] has a negative reputation, that is why a group of Sejm deputies has called for its abolition. You want to preserve ORMO, merely changing its orientation. Why? What advantages does ORMO give to society? Are they not advantages purely for the Interior Ministry?

[Kiszczak] I am not acquainted with the results of any comprehensive and objective opinion polls about ORMO, therefore it is difficult for me to gauge what society really thinks of it.

ORMO's critics have overlooked many of the changes that have been made recently, as well as some aspects of ORMO's work which could cancel out this criticism.

Today, ORMO is a social organization under the aegis of the ORMO Social Council. Its activity is relatively inexpensive, and does not constitute a major burden on the Interior Ministry's budget—in any case, the costs are disproportionately low compared to the effects. For example, in 1988 members of ORMO performed about 11 million tasks, 7.5 million of them independently. They looked after 18,000 minors who were in danger of embarking upon the path of crime; participated in 211,000 fire and 275,000 sanitary inspections; trained 487,000 children and young people in cycling proficiency; and guarded thousands of car parks, garden plots, and so on.

ORMO members also caught over 11,000 offenders red-handed and revealed 371,000 offenses, including the apprehension of 24,000 drunken drivers.

For this work by over 320,000 ORMO members, the Ministry spends almost Z700 million a year, less than Z2,000 for each ORMO member. The conclusion is simple. Were it not for ORMO, there would be even greater cause to complain about a shortage of militiamen, and the work of the militia would be so expensive that the ministry would go bankrupt. I trust no one wants that.

[Chrupkowa] Is the Law and Law Observance Commission necessary at all? I do not think it is, because it duplicates the work of the courts, the prosecutor's office, and your ministry. I also consider this commission an attempt by the Interior Ministry to supervise the judiciary.

[Kiszczak] The Council of Ministers Coordinating Commission for the Observance of the Law arose on the strength of a Council of Ministers resolution. Its detailed scope of action is being established. However, I can firmly say that it will not duplicate the work of any body of authority or institution. In accordance with its name, its basic task will be to coordinate the work of various political and social bodies in consolidating the rule of law and increasing the law's prestige.

I think the new committee will avail itself of all the positive experience of the former Council of Ministers Committee for an Observance of the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, of which I was chairman, and that it will dispense with all the faults and shortcomings of its predecessor. In addition, I believe that the coordination of efforts by many independent bodies and institutions of the authorities, and the administration for the sake of increasing an observance of the law are socially very necessary.

PZPR Floor Group Meets in Warsaw 11 Oct

LD1210042189 Warsaw PAP in English 2238 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 11—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] deputies met today with members of the PUWP leadership: Zbigniew Michalek, Leszek Miller, Janusz Reykowski, Zdzislaw Balicki and Slawomir Wiatr who were invited to present to the PUWP parliamentary floor group the key areas of their actions, plans and forecasts. A meeting with Mieczyslaw Rakowski is to be held tomorrow.

The press was not admitted to watch today's meeting.

The group's guests stressed that one of the PUWP's main tasks was to protect the state from instability. They said the PUWP had to stake on the success of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government but also to think on what posed a threat to Poland. The PUWP should feel responsible for guaranteeing democratic direction of changes and to prevent both possible attempts at anarchization and at autocratic strivings by any political group. This responsibility covers the building of social order in Poland and takes into account also the protection of interests of working people.

As regards the concept of preparations for the 11th PUWP Congress, it will undoubtedly become a stage of ending the PUWP work and starting the setting up of a new party, a socialist party of the left. It will certainly be decisively less numerous than the present one but its influence will be determined by the number of voters who would like to cast ballots for it in the future.

IRNA Cites Rakowski Zagreb TV Interview

LD1210082989 Tehran IRNA in English 0745 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, Oct. 12. IRNA—Rightwing governments in Europe think that Poland will abandon socialism, the leader of the Polish Communist Party said on television here Wednesday evening.

"That is why they are happy to give support to the Mazowiecki government, which I as premier did not get, in spite of various promises and declarations."

First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) Mieczyslaw Rakowski in an interview with Zagreb TV network said that the line taken by the opposition and government in Poland gave rise to the belief in European rightwing circles that Poland "sooner or later would leave the road of socialist development."

The new government, formed from the ranks of the opposition, did not mean the end of the political crisis in Poland: "There are more surprises in store," Rakowski said. He expected that differences within the opposition would deepen between certain political lobbies.

Polish Premeier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Solidarity representative, spent over a year in prison following martial law in December 1981. Over half of his cabinet are prominent members of the former underground Solidarity movement.

Rakowski said that support from the European Left, including Social Democratic parties, had a "very positive" effect on the new political system in Poland, based on humanist values - "A total negation of the Stalinist edition of socialism."

"As a party," Rakowski said, "we are now at the stage of thinking of how to return the strength of political power."

The new-look party would be formed at the 11th Congress at the end of January, Rakowski said. The party would have to give up its monopoly of power, submit to various forms of political supervision, become more democratic in its structure and show publicly that it accepted the fact that the era of "dictatorship by the proletariat" had definitely closed, he said.

Part of the membership, he warned, was, however, "still firmly tied to the past", when the dictatorship had been in the hands of ruling party circles.

The chairman of the Polish National Trade Union, Malfred Miodowicz announced at the end of September that "leftist intellectuals" would soon meet with a view to forming a new party in Poland.

The trade union leadership did now view the PUWP as a political guarantor of the working people, he said.

1.5 of the party's 2 million members are also trade union members.

The European Community countries this week decided to approve a dls. 1.100 billion loan to Poland and Hungary, in view of the important political changes which have taken place recently in both countries.

Inflation in Poland is rapidly approaching 4,000 per cent.

Defense Ministry Spokesman on Changes in Army

LD1210223789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Ireneusz Czyzewski, press spokesman of the National Defense Ministry, by unidentified correspondent—live in studio]

[Text] [Czyzewski] The date of 12 October is associated with the anniversary of the Battle of Lenino. But its patriotic and also national symbolism has universal significance. This holiday honors all soldiers, both current ones and those who gained honors on all fronts.

[Correspondent] The times are changing, Colonel. They are different to a year ago. How is the Army changing?

[Czyzewski] The Army is changing too, of course. It is different to a year, even half a year ago. We are quickly moving toward a smaller army, but one that is qualitatively better. Over and above that, it is an army that is economic. Suffice it to say that military expenditures this year are, in real terms, some 20 percent lower than before. We intend to have reduced by the end of the year the size of our army by 33,000 soldiers. As of 1 October 64 units had been dissolved already. A dozen or so [kilkanascie] await this in the immediate future. One thousand tanks and transporters are being sent to the steelworks, some of the technical equipment for the use of the whole of society. We have drastically limited purchases of technology. In fact, we have stopped all investments.

Drawing the conclusion from this, it is possible to say that this is a proreform army, identifying itself with and supporting national aspirations, transforming itself so that it is fully in accordance with the norms in force in a law-abiding civil society. We have, after all, the same problems as society: a great lack of resources, many complicated problems of a welfare nature, and a need to economize. In a word, we have quite simply a lot of work in the immediate future.

In conclusion, here is a piece of news associated with this. Understanding that we will all now need more normal, working days than holidays, we have decided that in the future Polish Army Day will be celebrated with ceremony on a national scale on the occasion of the so-called round anniversaries. Let this be a good example.

[Correspondent] We are for this.

Cooperative Movement Chairman Barcikowski Resigns

LD1310191689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Cooperative Movement has lodged fundamental opposition to the form, method, preparatory procedure, and content of the government's bill on changes in the organization and operation of the cooperative movement. The bill does not take into account the opinions and proposals previously sent by the Supreme Council to the Government and the Sejm. The principles of protection of cooperative ownership have been violated, as well as of the legal procedure for administering this estate.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Cooperative Movement, has resigned from his post.

'Solidarity' Executive Commission Meets

AU1110174489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Oct 89 p 2

[PAP report: "The 'Solidarity' Independent Self-Governing Trade Union National Executive Commission Meets"]

[Text] The "Solidarity" Independent Self-Governing Trade Union National Executive Commission has met in Gdansk [no date given]. The meeting was attended by Lech Walesa. Apart from internal union matters, these were some of the topics discussed at the meeting: issues pertaining to the future of the citizens' committees; the participation of "Solidarity" members in the work of people's councils; and the drafting of amendments to the law on indexation.

Members of the National Executive Commission generally agreed that plans to create rigid structures of a coordinating kind should be abandoned in favor of an option that would grant local citizens' committees full independence and the freedom to decide what sort of coordinating bodies should be created at the voivodship or regional levels. Support was also expressed for the proposal that citizens' committees cease using the name "Solidarity."

During the course of the discussion, the question of participation by "Solidarity" representatives in the work of people's councils was extended to take in the question of citizens' committee member representation on the councils. This is already happening in some areas. However, the position of the National Executive Commission on trade union members—it was expressed in an appropriate resolution—was that regional boards can approve such activity on the part of its representatives if their activity is confined to that of observers.

The National Executive Commission discussed the question of changes to collective labor agreements and the commission members approved the right of union branch commissions to conclude supplementary protocols, although "Solidarity" views collective agreements negatively overall.

The "Solidarity" National Executive Commission expressed concern over the recent increases in the prices of foodstuffs, the effects of which have significantly exceeded the projected rise in the cost of living and it stated, among other things: "In view of the seriousness of the situation, it is essential to immediately institute the broadest possible measures for shielding the poorest groups in society. It is necessary to provide realistic levels for foodstuff supplements and to continue with the monthly advance payment of these supplements. At the same time, the National Executive Commission notes that every decision that causes a significant increase in the cost of living must be preceded by a public announcement as well as an explanation of why the move has to be made."

Solidarity TV Union Organized Nationally

LD1210215189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] [Presenter] In Wroclaw, a National Coordinating Commission [KKK] of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity has been created for radio and television. Its chairman is Wojciech Biedak, from the Poznan Television Center. The commission has discussed better ways of reporting in radio and television and also matters of the aging technical equipment and the poor welfare situation of journalists.

Council of Ministers 5 Oct Session

AU1010134089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Oct 89 p 2

[PAP report: "The Assumptions and Directions of Economic Policy"]

[Text] On 5 October, there was a meeting of the Council of Ministers presided by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The

council considered a preliminary paper containing the assumptions and directions of the government's economic policy.

We are fully aware—said Premier Mazowiecki—of the difficulties faced by people, by every person in Poland. We see queues, shortages of goods, and escalating prices that so worry society. I am aware of all this and I remain convinced that all the members of the cabinet are fully aware of these problems. We are all trying not to lose the feelings of solidarity with the people who have to bear these discomforts of everyday life.

The premier stated that there were only two alternatives. On the one hand, there is the difficult and tortuous road toward implementing a market economy and the tried and tested market mechanisms that have proven their worth throughout the whole world, or, on the other hand, a return to past practice. The most important thing was to gradually emerge from this dark tunnel, and at the same time remain aware of the grave difficulties that everyone was struggling with. .

The plans—stressed the premier—will not be perfect or easy, but we must try to make things are a little easier in 1 year's time. We have to contain hyperinfation in Poland right now, and later we must fundamentally attack its root causes. The premier talked about the need to implement the program of social security, and the fight against poverty. This is being done by the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, but the whole government and the whole nation must also be brought into this battle.

This difficult program—continued the premier—along with the possibility of foreign aid, will only become a realistic program, if, supported by society's understanding, we succeed in awakening initiative and break down the feeling of helplessness. Times are very hard, and they require mutual understanding, the awakening of wholesale initiatives in the factories by the self-management bodies, management, the technical personnel, workers' initiatives, and by an understanding of the trade unions and their reforming desire.

After the discussion, which lasted several hours, the Council of Ministers authorized Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz to present the government project to the public. The authors of the project would incorporate the points and propositions that had been made during the discussion.

Mazowiecki Chairs Council of Ministers Meeting

LD1010013789 Warsaw PAP in English
2332 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 9—The Council of Ministers held a meeting under the chairmanship of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki today.

Changes in Cooperative Organization

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft law on changes in the organization and operation of the cooperative sector. The proposed law is to ensure the liquidation of monopoly and monopolistic practices in the cooperative movement and equip cooperative members with conditions for self-government and independent action.

The elimination of monopolistic structures will be conducive to the process of transition to market economy, doing away with branch ties which were inflexible and hampered unrestrained cooperation between cooperatives and various economic units. The anti-monopoly body, making use of a simplified procedure of dividing cooperatives, will tackle the division of monopolies and preventing their resurgence.

Being guided by social and humanitarian reasons, the Council of Ministers decided that the draft law would not pertain to unions affiliating cooperatives of the handicapped and blind.

Law on System of Common Courts

The government adopted a draft amendment to the law on the system of common courts and other laws. The proposed changes are an important element of a complex reform of judicature. They are characterized above all by more guarantees for judges' independence and limit the administrative powers of the minister of justice and the ministry's bodies. The introduction of terms for presidents of courts and limiting these terms to two also serve this end.

Several important changes have been introduced as concerns the powers of the judges' self-government. Such self-governments have gained direct influence on the selection of judicial cadres and principles of work distribution. Also significant are draft regulations which are conducive to the democratization of principles governing the selection of the people's jury.

Mazowiecki Makes Ministerial Changes 9 Oct

LD1010005189 Warsaw PAP in English
2342 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 9: Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has made the following personnel changes on the level of secretaries and undersecretaries in ministries:

Ministry of National Education:

Czeslaw Krolikowski, Zbigniew Sajkowski and Jan Marianski were recalled from the posts of undersecretaries of state, to be appointed to other posts in the ministry.

Zbigniew Wesolowski was recalled from the post of secretary of state and appointed undersecretary of state.

Tadeusz Diem, Janusz Lukasz Grzelak, Andrzej Janowski and Anna Maria Radziwill were appointed undersecretaries of state.

Wiktor Kulerski was appointed secretary of state.

Ministry of Health and Social Welfare:

Stanislaw Gura was recalled from the post of the 1st vice-minister. Gura remains an undersecretary of state.

Piotr Mierzewski was appointed undersecretary of state and named 1st vice-minister.

Krystyna Sienkiewicz was appointed undersecretary of state. Sienkiewicz will combine this function with the post of Poland's chief nurse.

Ministry of Culture and Art:

Kazimierz Molek was recalled from the post of undersecretary of state. This post was entrusted to Stefan Starczewski.

Ministry of Labour and Social Policy:

Leslaw Nawacki was recalled from the post of undersecretary of state and appointed director general in the ministry.

Office of State Economic Arbitration:

Edward Zachajkiewicz was recalled from the post of the president of this office, in connection with liquidating the state economic arbitration.

Tadeusz Diem, 49, is a doctor of chemical sciences and has been working at the Warsaw Technical University since 1963. He lectured at U.S. state universities twice in the 1980's. As a Solidarnosc activist, he was vice-chairman of a basic commission at the Warsaw Technical University and member of the board of the Mazowsze Region.

Janusz Lukasz Grzelak, 48, started working at the Philosophy and Sociology Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences in 1963. Since 1966, he has been professionally linked to the Warsaw University where he gained the degrees of doctor and docent. He completed a scientific training period in the U.S. and was professor at universities in the U.S. and Holland. In 1981-1982, he was dean of the Psychology Department. In 1985, he was recalled from the post of head of Scientific Department for political reasons.

In 1982-1989, he worked in the Solidarnosc underground structures. He is a member of the Helsinki Committee in Poland and the citizen's committee at Lech Walesa. [as received] He took part in the round table debates.

Andrzej Janowski, 54, has been working in the Polish Pathfinders' Union (ZHP), including its headquarters, since 1956. since 1966, he has been working at the Institute of Pedagogical Research where he gained the degree of doctor in 1970 and became assistant professor in pedagogics in 1976.

He has been a Solidarnosc member since September 1980 and was member of the Solidarnosc team of educational experts in 1980-1981. In 1982-1989, he was member of a team of independent education. He took part in the round table debates.

Anna Maria Radziwill is a doctor of humanities. She wrote books and many articles. She started working already when she was a student. From 1960 to 1982, she was a teacher and next deputy director of the Lelewel Secondary School here. Since 1982, she has been teacher at the Zamojski Secondary School. Since 1980, she has been a Solidarnosc member and headed a team of Solidarnosc experts negotiating changes in history curricula with the Educational Ministry. In 1982, she worked at the Primate's Committee for the Assistance for the Internees and the Imprisoned. She took part in the round table debates. She is a senator.

Wiktor Kulerski, 54, is an art historian. He started working at the Zoology Institute at the Polish Academy of Sciences in 1953. Next, he was a teacher and deputy director at the Horst School here for 21 years. From 1976, he cooperated with KOR and since 1980 he has been active in Solidarnosc.

He is a member of the Social Council of the Fund for Independent Publications. In 1981, he took part in negotiations on social shape of education in Poland. He is a member of the Citizen's Committee at Lech Walesa. He took part in the round table debates. He is a Sejm deputy.

Piotr Mierzewski, 39, graduated from the Gdansk Medical Academy and started working there in 1975. Since 1985, he has been running a department of haemodialyses at the Children's Nephrology Clinic at the Gdansk Medical Academy. Since 1980, he has been secretary of the Solidarnosc National Health Service Coordinating Commission. He was interned in 1982 and imprisoned in 1984 for political reasons. He is a member of the commission for the reform of the system of health protection set up after the round table.

Krystyna Sienkiewicz, a qualified nurse, started professional career at Malbork and Torun Hospitals. Started work for the Solidarity in September 1980. Was a member of an interfactory Founding Committee of the Solidarity and head of the Solidarity Committee at the Voivodship hospital in Torun.

Stefan Starczewski, 54, graduated from the Department of Philology, Warsaw University. Trained personnel for cultural centres 1961-77. Was the chief expert at the Central Office for Popularizing Culture. Lectured at the Pedagogical Department, Warsaw University. Headed Solidarity Team for Education 1980-81, preparing among others a reform of the system of education. After being released from internment worked at the Helsinki Committee in 1982. Cooperates with independent publishers. Member of citizens' committee at Lech Walesa. [sentence as received]

PAP Summarizes Government Economic Program

LD1210093889 Warsaw PAP in English 0141 GMT 12 Oct 89

["Government Economic Programme (Summary)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 11—The gist of the government programme consists in an essential change in the economic system, a turning-point made towards building the market system in the possibly swiftest way.

The programme envisages that preliminary conditions, making it possible to accomplish a systemic breakthrough, will be satisfied in the coming three months and the start of 1991 will be a moment when the last of mechanisms that are to achieve this breakthrough are started up. Two kinds of steps are envisaged. Firstly, these will be stabilizational actions whose implementation will start immediately and whose main task is to stop hyperinflation. Secondly, these will be actions aimed at essential systemic changes. The latter are prepared already now in the conceptional and legal sense, and their implementation will start at the turn of the year.

Basic Changes

What do these essential changes—the essence of restructuring the economy—consist in? The social goal is clear, this is to set up an economic system that would make life of people normal and give them, and thus the entire country, an opportunity of development. The economic goal is to set up market economy whose features resemble proven systems of highly developed countries.

The main three kinds of changes concern: Firstly, a change in the ownership structure on such a scale so that it could forejudge making effectiveness lasting feature of Polish economy and at the same time could become the source of restructuring economic branches.

Secondly—Full introduction of market mechanisms and institutions allowing for the creation of a stable economic balance as well as the growth of goods supply and their quality. Thirdly—reform of the financial and banking system allowing for introduction of convertibility of the zloty and at the same time for opening of the Polish economy to the world.

Changes in Ownership

These changes will have an open character and will be controlled by the Sejm. The public sale of property will be a basic rule and the purchase of bonds by employees will also be facilitated. The principles of financial policy of state-owned enterprises, which will not be privatized, will be changed so as to make them compete on the market with other forms of ownership in new conditions. municipal property will be separated from the state-owned one and the limitations in land trade, freedom of possession and use of houses, apartments, defining rents and the like will be lifted. The ownership changes will be accompanied by demonopolization of the market and production.

Introduction of Market Mechanisms

The introduction of market mechanisms will mean, first of all, the liberty in fixing prices with a simultaneous elimination of rationing and compulsory use of agents. It will be accompanied by the treatment of economic subjects on equal rights which will have its expression in the liquidation of tax exemptions. The active anti-monopoly policy and expansion of possibilities of investing foreign capital will complement actions conducive to the development of competition. Thus, after making prices free (the control of prices will be reduced only to the struggle against monopolies) and reaching equilibrium, the prerequisites of their uncontrolled growth will be eliminated. At the same time, a tough monetary policy in regard to economic subjects i.e., departure from subsidies, strict execution of liabilities and liquidation of preferential credits, will create conditions for balancing the economy.

These actions will be accompanied by the creation of the following markets:

—Currency market as a result of standardisation of exchange rates and introduction of the internal at first and then of the external convertibility of the zloty,

—Capital market through i.a. creation of a stock market

—Labour market through an amendment of the labour code facilitating the adjustement of employment to the economically justified needs.

The creation of these markets together with the introduction of market relations will become a propelling mechanism of the modernisation of economy and growth of its efficiency as well as development of the entire economy and, as a consequence, the growth of production and faster rate of development of the entire economy.

Reform of State Finances

The reform of state finances will first of all be based on the amendment of the budget law so as to make it impossible to finance the budget deficit with a non-interest credit of the Polish National Bank NBP. The amended law will force tax discipline and efficiency of the system of directing the liabilities to the budget. It will adjust the scope of subsidising local budgets to the new principles of local self-government.

The second element of the reform of finances will be the change of the tax system. The reaching of the final state is expected not earlier that in 1991.

Only three forms of taxes will function in the future (after 1991:

—Income tax from legal persons, the same for all sectors,

—Value added tax replacing the to-date turnover tax,

—Personal income tax based on declaration.

In the transition period (in 1990) the personal income tax will be replaced by the expanded equalizing tax from a greater group of payers.

The rates of farming tax will be adjusted to reality.

Changes in Banking System

Changes in the banking system constitute the third part of the reform of finances. They will be based on the introduction of the new system of credit clearings making it impossible for credit receivers to make unjustified profits because of inflation. The introduction of the institution of a bill of exchange for reciprocal crediting between enterprises, simplifying the way of setting up new banks and simplifying banking techniques—these are other tasks of the reform in banking.

The systemic changes in economy are of a breakthrough character and that is why they should be conducted in a complex way.

—A change in the principles of indexing wages and strengthening actions to counter the inflationary rise in wages,

—Sterner financial policy towards enterprises and limiting investment demand,

—Stopping production in selected factories whose manfacture is material and energy consuming,

—Using commodity reserves to pursue active interventionist policy on the market,

—Starting selling some elements of state property.

Other steps serving to limit budgetary deficit will also be taken. They will include: Limiting subsidies, expenditures on public security and national defence, sharpening tax discipline and stopping giving reductions, raising prices and turnover tax on some consumer goods. Credit policy towards enterprises will also be sterner.

Social Policy

A programme of social protection for the economically weakest groups will be introduced to ease burdens stemming from the radical character of the programme.

In the first, three-month-long period, the stabilising actions are to halt the growth of inflation, weakening at the same time one of its sources—the budget deficit. The basic undertakings of this period are as follows:

—Liquidation of monopolistic structures.

The cushioning actions will consist of—The protection of the level of food consumption (food tickets) and partial subsidies for rents and costs of heating.

—Reorganization of the welfare system,

—Valorization of old age and disability pensions, related to the level of payments.

The mechanisms of social policy will be reshaped independently from the cushioning actions, to keep to the criteria of efficiency. They will consist in part of amending the financing of social services combining the system of health care with the system of insurance and departure from the system of granting benefits according to incomes.

Foreign Aid

The implementation of the stabilization moves and systemic changes proposed by the government make it highly possible to seal swiftly the agreements with the IMF and the World Bank and to agree with individual groups of creditors on the terms for servicing the indebtedness concordant with Poland's financial capabilities. Simultaneusly, the inflow of foreign capital will be facilitated and the conditions for investing in Poland will become more stable and profitable than the hitherto ones, without affecting Poland's interests.

The implementation of the whole economic programme will require in the first place obtaining still this year credits from the highly developed countries for the imports of raw materials, intervention purchase of commodities of public importance such as medicines and releasing the IMF credit amounting to 700 million dollars and connected with an agreement on the adjustment programm, releasing still this year the World Bank credits for financing the already agreed projects and for supporting the structural changes and a number of similar moves. We will also apply for full rescheduling of the repayment of the capital and the interest in the years 1989-1992.

Conditions for Implementing the Programme

The government's radical economic programme and the programme of social actions adapted to it stands the chance of success only when it is accepted by the majority of society. It also requires to be supported by all important political and social forces, trade unions and both houses of parliament.

The programme opens up prospects for gradual improvement. After the period of one year, one can expect the growth rate of prices to slow down, the market supply to improve, enterprises to work more rationally and real wages for honest and skilled work to rise.

Ceausescu Chairs CC Meeting on Economy

AU0510205689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1955 GMT 5 Oct 89

["Working Meeting on Economic Matters at CC of RCP Headquarters"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 5/10/1989—Under the chairmanship of RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, a working meeting on economic matters was held at the Central Committee [CC] of the RCP, on October 5.

Attending were members and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, members of the government, executives of economic ministries, directors of industrial central departments, combines, building-assembly trusts, research and design institutes, foreign trade enterprises.

The meeting was preceded by analyses made by the management councils of ministries and industrial central departments regarding the fulfillment of the plan provisions for September, when measures were set to improve the entire activity, to reach a higher quality and efficiency, to make up for all arrears and fully implement the plan for October, the fourth quarter and the entire year of 1989.

The conclusions drawn from these analyses were presented by Constantin Dascalescu, Romanian prime minister, at the opening of the meeting.

Starting from the results obtained, and mostly from the importance of the tasks or the implementation in good conditions of the plan for this year and of the great targets of the national economy, President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor at the meeting.

Outlines Problems

AU0610112489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1021 GMT 6 Oct 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 6/10/1989—In the speech he made on 5 October at the working meeting on economic questions held at the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], the party general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, showed that important achievements were scored in general in the first nine months of this year: industrial marketable production increased by almost seven per cent, net production by eight per cent, while in September marketable production augmented by 7.5 per cent and net production by nine per cent.

Nevertheless, the speaker said, plan provisions have not been fulfilled in all sectors and there are serious arrears in some very important domains—oil, coal and ore production, in metallurgy and chemistry, machine building and light industries, as well as in the food industry. There are serious arrears as far as productivity, material spending and general production expenditure are concerned.

Although a relatively satisfactory industrial marketable production growth has been achieved in general, the speaker went on, the pace of the production meant for export is four times lower than that of the industrial marketable production. Insisting upon the need to fulfill export tasks, the speaker stressed inter alia: we import most of raw materials and power resources, just as a number of materials and they can be obtained through appropriate exports of products apt to ensure the necessary means for a balanced trade, for an active balance to the end of consolidating financial and hard currency reserves, as a prerequisite for a proper course of our socioeconomic activities.

Noting that in comparison with the present development of science and technology some sectors are now lagging behind, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that the programmes for the modernization of production on the basis of the latest gains in science and technology should be applied everywhere providing for the manufacture of products on a par with the world's best.

Referring to the special programmes and the measures for a cut in material consumption, and spending, for increasing profitability and economic efficiency, Nicolae Ceausescu said that almost all unprofitable products had been liquidated. There still are a few which must be liquidated, he said. The speaker reminded that in keeping with a special programme all unprofitable enterprises will be rendered profitable this year. There is no question of closing any enterprise. The question is to elect to the management bodies of the units staff able to responsibly manage the respective enterprises. We cannot admit to keep in the management boards of enterprises people that work without a sense of responsibility, badly manage and waste the national wealth, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed.

Pointing to the need for financial and banking bodies to firmly apply the country's laws which stipulate that each leu be spent with maximum efficiency, Nicolae Ceausescu said: all managerial staff, all party and state activists, all communists and all working people must work with utmost responsibility, in a revolutionary spirit for the firm application of the country's laws, for the best implementation of the socioeconomic programmes, of the modernization and organization programmes, of the programmes for the observance of the set economic and financial spending, for the achievement of self-management and self-administration.

At present, steps must be taken so that not only that the plan be fulfilled but also an additional production be

obtained, and not any kind of production, but a production useful for the national economy, for the country's general development, first of all by fully achieving exports.

Turning out the planned production the products should be thus provided for general economic activities and the supply of the population, the speaker said, underlining that the self-sufficiency programmes for this year and its fourth quarter stipulate the ensurance of quality products in the required quantities, for a good supply of the population, with all industrial goods. The self- sufficiency programme for the fourth quarter of the year provides for a doubling with several products compared with the same period last year, the Romanian head of state said, demanding that those products should be well administered, while the food industry and home trade should ensure a proper supply and good quality products.

Assessing that this year good, even very good, crops have been obtained and that, virtually, production is over twice bigger than a year ago, Nicolae Ceausescu showed they were an outcome of the measures taken by the party, by the state to back this branch, of the socialist organization of agriculture, of the tremendous spending on irrigation, on the mechanization of works and chemicalization of production, as well as of the achievements scored in producing highly efficient and productive seeds, of the application of adequate technologies. All this proves the correctness of the party's general line in agriculture and the incontenstible superiority of socialist agriculture over the old reforms, over the landlord-bourgeois or capitalist agriculture, he said.

After referring to the directions of action in the activity of certain industrial branches, the RCP general secretary demanded that every measure should be taken for a good organization of work in enterprises, for the rational use of work force and a higher productivity and profitability in all domains.

We must well understand that we should strengthen order, responsibility, discipline, the revolutionary spirit in all spheres of activity. We should work for the consolidation and growth of the socialist property in industry, in all sectors, for the development of the state and cooperative property in agriculture, knowing that this is the only way toward the general development of the country, the speaker showed, emphasizing: the achievements obtained in the years of socialist construction, especially after the Ninth Party Congress, are irrefutable evidence of the high superiority of socialism, of the fact that only through socialism could we ensure the powerful development of our homeland, only by taking the way of socialism and communism can we steadily raise Romania on to ever higher summits of progress and civilization, just as the people's general standards of living, can we guarantee the country's independence and sovereignty.

Showing that Romania boasts a good, democratic framework of the management of all sectors of activity, Nicolae Ceausescu mentioned that ever since 1982 the RCP considered the thesis on proletariat dictatorship to be wrong. The speaker further said: it means in no way that the working class become the leading class should act through methods of dictate. Quite the reverse, expressing the people's power in alliance with the peasants, the intellectuals it ensures the broadest democracy. Hence, the thesis itself of the dictatorship of the proletariat was a wrong thesis.

We have achieved the broadest democracy, where the people themselves lead their destinies as they wish. In keeping with this, we have developed after the Ninth Congress the entire system of revolutionary worker democracy. Naturally, we have to improve it and make it function properly, in all fields of activity.

On that occasion, we discussed the role of the party and the role of the state in the system of revolutionary worker democracy. Why do I raise this question now? Because you know that there are many discussions on the party-state relationship, and some formulate incomprehensive theses such as that which characterizes the party as a "state party". Our party has never been a state party. It came into being as a party of the working class and it has remained a revolutionary party of the working class. We consider that such a thesis is wrong and tends to disconcert and conceal facts, to defame, in fact, the communist parties whose role is to organize the struggle to overthrow oppression, to ensure the building of a world free of capitalists, free of oppressors.

Indeed, I said that in Romania our Communist Party fulfilled the role of leading political force, but I have pointed out most clearly that it does not replace nor does it intend to replace the state, the state bodies. Quite the reverse; our party has always been concerned to strengthen the role of the party, the role of state organs in the development and management of socio-economic activity, because it is the only way to fulfill its mission of leading political force in society.

Working in various sectors of activity the communists should be in the first ranks, and ensure the unswerving observance of the laws and the proper operation of the state organs in which they work. You cannot be a good communist if you do not manage well the enterprise, the central department, the ministry, the institute, the government. To be a good communist is to work so that the organs where the party send you should function in the best conditions and the laws of the state firmly applied. This is a basic requisite for communists, for the leading role of the party in all sectors of activity.

As a matter of fact, as is said on other occasions, the speaker went on, in any state where a party which manages to become the ruling party works to implement the programme, for which it got the votes or came to power [sentence as received].

It is our party's duty to work for its programme of building socialism and communism, of raising the people's standard of living materially and spiritually of strengthening the country's independence and sovereignty, to be implemented in best conditions. It is the only way in which the party can be called a communist party, can fulfill its historic mission. And our party worked, works, and will always work in this way.

The fashion now is to talk of the so-called "market economy" and the "free market", President Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech.

First of all, he went on, we also knew the "free market economy." Older people alone remember how things stood before 23 August 1944. They know what that "free market" and "free economy" meant. But after 23 August, until we started the socialist construction, in 1948, it is known how inflation soared up and products were hidden up and in fact the population was kept in poverty. Naturally, it was the result of the entire bourgeois-landlord policy. I no longer refer to the situation in the capitalist countries. But, let us consider some socialist countries which started along this way and extol the "market economy" stating it will help them solve economic problems. Our press often published news items from some socialist countries on the price rise and the soaring inflation. The result of all this is an increasing number of people who can hardly make a living on their incomes. It is true that some got rich—the profiteers—who take products from the stores and speculate on them. This is the direct result of the so-called "free market".

Why do I raise this question? First, because we must clarify the party, understand the problems well and, secondly, to show the need for a strict control of prices, to admit in no way profiteering in our country. You know well, 15-20 years ago we also accepted the so-called commissioners' system. Some got rich but the country did not become richer, people did not get richer.

We must obviously preserve socialist trade, price control and ensure a good supply of the population. It is known that cooperative producers or farmers can sell their products, their surplus in markets we arranged special places for them but at the prices in the market price list set by the state and they should strictly observe them.

There is no room for the so-called free market since this does not mean to go ahead but to go back to capitalism, and we must in no way admit such a thing. We should make these problems clear to the party and the whole people. Only by applying the principles of socialism in all domains can we ensure the general progress of the country, people's welfare.

These questions are related to the measures for an appropriate fulfillment of the plan, for growing efficiency and productivity, for the implementation of the self-sufficiency programmes, for a proper supply of the working people, of the entire people, in all areas. We are responsible and we must do our utmost for the general development of the country, the fulfillment of production plans, for a good supply, everything being devoted to the country's advance, to the people's welfare the lofty goal of the party's policy, the essence of the multilaterally developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania.

Ceausescu Examines Food Supply Problems

AU0810201489 Bucharest Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, early this morning visited marketplaces and agricultural and food units, as well as other trade and food outlets in Bucharest, and examined how people's supplies are being ensured. [passage omitted]

After the visit, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, with the responsible people from municipal people's councils and Bucharest's districts, from the Ministries of Agriculture, Food Industry, Contracting and Acquisition of Agricultural Produce, Domestic Trade, Health, and from the Ministry of the Interior, examined at the party Central Committee Headquarters major problems linked to ensuring proper supplies for the people in keeping with the self-sufficiency programs.

The party secretary general emphasized that this fall's yields ensure the necessary quantities of agricultural produce and foodstuffs and that conditions have been created to guarantee our people proper supplies of all varieties of vegetables and fruits, meat, and meat products, fish and canned fish.

Starting from conclusions drawn during the visit, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu criticized the great shortfalls in the organization of trade, which are mainly due to disorder and lack of discipline, and to lack of responsibility on the part of cadres in ministries, people's councils, and trade directorates. Therefore, supplies of agricultural produce and foodstuffs were not ensured for our people under favorable conditions. He also stressed the fact that, although there are considerable quantities of seasonal vegetables of good quality in storage, some marketplaces are selling non-selected products, which are improperly presented and are of poor quality.

The party secretary general also drew attention to the lack of the varieties of fruits characteristic of the season; although there is a program for supplies of table grapes for the people, preparations for implementing it were not made because of the negligence of certain management cadres in the Ministry of Agriculture.

As far as meat and meat products are concerned, the party secretary general emphasized that the measures adopted aim at ensuring very good supplies and requested that meat and meat products be available daily, both from the point of view of quantity and quality

in conformity with plan provisions, thus ensuring good supplies for districts and stores.

Criticizing some inappropriate situations regarding the supply of these products, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that they do not meet the required standards of the quality plan either; thus, the food industry is not fulfilling its tasks.

Critical remarks were also made in connection with the inappropriate supply of fresh fish. The party secretary general requested that the plans adopted be strictly observed. He made similar recommendations in connection with supplies of milk and milk products.

In connection with bread, the party secretary general emphasized that the main requirement in this field in Bucharest is to improve quality and increase the variety.

An important place within this analysis was held by problems regarding the implementation of the programs for increasing the volume and the variety of prepared meals. Criticizing the way large and other culinary units are operating, the party secretary general requested that an increasingly larger number of people be able to buy a two- to three-course menu daily as soon as possible.

Special attention was paid to the way in which hygiene is respected, because this is absolutely mandatory in this very important sector. In harshly criticizing the negligence noted in marketplaces and food stores, the party secretary general requested that an analysis be made of how the hygiene-veterinary control bodies are fulfilling their duties, and stressed that firm measures have to be taken in this respect.

Emphasizing that, in turn, trade bodies, the militia, the workers control teams, and civic commissions have not done their duty properly, the party secretary general requested that they be reorganized and activated, that they carefully supervise the way marketplaces and food units are supplied with products, that they take action against abuses and other things that are amiss, and that they contribute to a greater extent to the elimination of shortfalls in the shortest time possible, to the radical improvement of the operations of trade networks, and to ensuring proper supplies for the people.

The party secretary general harshly criticized the activity carried out by the municipal people's council and Bucharest's districts and requested that they mobilize all their efforts to ensure the agricultural produce and foodstuffs stipulated in the program, to present and select them according to quality categories, and to ensure the proper organization of stores, the strengthening of order and discipline, and a sense of responsibility on the part of all those active in trade.

On the basis of the conclusions drawn during this analysis, it was decided that in the following days the programs for ensuring proper supplies for the people be completed and developed in conformity with the targets of the party's policy in general, which give priority to improving the standard of living and the quality of the life of all our people.

Ceausescu Greets CSSR Leaders From Plane

AU1110084389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Oct 89 p 5

[Message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to CSSR Leaders "From Aboard the Presidential Plane" on his way to the Berlin GDR National Day Celebrations]

[Text] To Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CZCP Central Committee and to Comrade Gustav Husak, CSSR President

Flying over the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, I convey to you, to the CZCP Central Committee, and to the friendly Czechoslovak people comradely greetings and best wishes for success in the work of building socialism in your homeland.

I believe that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and parties will continue to develop in many areas, in the interest of building the socialist system in Romania and Czechoslovakia and of the cause of cooperation and peace in Europe and in the world.

Further Reportage on FEC Markovic's U.S. Visit

Discusses Human Rights

LD1310151689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Washington, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—According to reports, the dominant theme of the talks Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic held last night with a group of U.S. congressmen, members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was human rights.

The congressmen, among whom were some of the instigators of earlier anti-Yugoslav resolutions and amendments, particularly insisted on the Dobroslav Paraga case, suggesting that the Yugoslav Government should allow him to return to the country and put a stop to what they claim is the "mistreatment of him and his family."

Markovic stated that Yugoslavia is neither persecuting nor mistreating Paraga, who has been sentenced for membership in a terrorist organization. Paraga, he said, has a passport and may go where he pleases. The FEC president reminded the congressmen, who claimed that in the case of Paraga, Yugoslavia is violating its own laws, that he advocates a law-governed state and that the Paraga case is a matter for the judiciary and the courts, and that he, therefore, could guarantee Paraga nothing that was outside the law.

In reply to a question on the position of the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, which allegedly had "lost certain elements of their autonomy," Markovic is reported to have reacted vigorously, explaining that the constitutional changes in Serbia were aimed at bringing this Republic into the same position as the other federal units.

Congressman Tom Lantos, one of the most active in the anti-Yugoslav lobby in the House of Representatives, spoke about his visit to Yugoslavia last summer and about the alleged suppression of the rights of Albanians. In his reply, Markovic noted that he could appreciate the concern of the congressmen for human rights in Yugoslavia, but that they had not been concerned when the human rights of members of certain other nations in Kosovo, primarily the Serbs, were threatened.

However, the meeting, which was organized by Dante Fascell, chairman of the committee, and Lee Hamilton, chairman of the subcommittee for Europe and the Middle East, was not simply one of confrontation between the hosts and their guest. There also were congressmen who, it is stressed, expressed friendliness and praise for Yugoslavia, and among them was James Oberstar, who is of Slovene extraction.

Talks With Bush

LD1310204589 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic had talks with U.S. President George Bush in the White House today. Slobodan Kovacevic reports from Washington:

[Kovacevic] Several minutes before 1100 local time President Bush and his guest, FEC President Ante Markovic, had short meeting with journalists in the famous Oval Room in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship. President Bush commented jokingly on the brief meeting by asking who, of the Yugoslav journalists, had brought such a fine weather to Washington today. The talks began at 1100 sharp and proceded for slightly more than 1 hour.

After the talks, the FEC president held a brief open-air press conference in front of the White House entrance. We have just finished the talks with President Bush, which were not just cordial and friendly, in accordance with the tradition of relations between the two countries and nations, but also of specific content, Markovic assessed. We exchanged opinions on the current trends in the world, the FEC president said. These trends now have a certain amount of dramatic potential. We also discussed our mutual relations on which we agreed that the time is ripe to provide them with a new quality.

Asked about our country's current situation, Markovic replied that he maintains that it is no exaggeration to say that Yugoslavia is now at the crucial stage in the construction of a completely new economic system which will facilitate modern development and the development of the political system toward the strengthening of human freedoms, one which will have man and his rights at its center.

Asked whether financial aid has been requested, Markovic replied in negative terms.

At the end of the meeting, the FEC president said that President Bush expressed his unreserved support for the reforms in Yugoslavia and accepted the renewed invitation to visit our country.

White House Statement Noted

LD1410023189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2242 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Washington, Oct 13 (TANJUG)—In his talk with Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic today, U.S. President George Bush reiterated his firm support for Yugoslavia's independence, unity and sovereignty, says a statement on the talk, released by the White House tonight.

The statement further stresses that Bush welcomed Premier Markovic's option for a market economy, economic reforms and the development of democratic pluralism througout Yugoslavia.

It further says that the talk at the White House encompassed also serious economic and political challenges

facing Yugoslavia and ways and means by which industrialized democracies can support the premier's programme of reforms.

President Bush underlined that the implementation of the programme of economic reforms was essential in order to attract foreign investments and lead to Yugoslavia's economic recovery, and in this the premier concurred, says the statement.

It is emphasized that President Bush commended to Premier Markovic the constructive role played by Yugoslavia at last month's summit of non-aligned countries in Belgrade.

Assesses Washington Talks

LD1410044389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0122 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Washington, October 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Federal Premier Ante Markovic voiced Friday evening here his satisfaction with results from his U.S. visit and evaluated that the meetings he had represented the affirmation of Yugoslavia and its policy.

In the interview he gave to Yugoslav journalists just before the end of his Washington stay, Markovic singled out as a message coming from his meetings the knowledge that changes going in Yugoslavia are much bigger and deeper than in some other countries.

"My interlocutors understood that and made clear their support for such Yugoslav moves. They even offered to put at the disposal of my government their terms to help with economic restructuring," Markovic said.

Yesterday, the Yugoslav premier met in Washington with U.S. President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker. Their attention was focused on economic cooperation between the two countries and support the United States could offer for economic reforms in Yugoslavia.

Markovic felt very much pleased with his interlocutors having agreed that Yugoslavia needs no direct financial aid, but foreign participation in its process of recovery and a new cycle in Yugoslavia's development.

Asked when a materialisation of support in principle expressed in the series of his talks in Washington and New York can be expected, Ante Markovic said that this could take place in the course of the coming year, at a time when this would be indeed needed for carrying out the reforms undertaken.

For all that he yet awaited a closing meeting with Michel Camdessus, director-general of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Markovic voiced his great optimism in the matter of a final outcome from negotiations on a stand-by arrangement which, during all the talks he had here, figured as a condition without which not possible is any more serious international economic support to Yugoslavia.

"I believe that at the earliest a joint team of the IMF and the World Bank experts would come for closing negotiations to Belgrade," Markovic said.

In his talks with Markovic yesterday, Nicholas Brady, the U.S. secretary of the Treasury, promised that the United States would support Yugoslavia at the IMF, TANJUG learned.

The visiting Yugoslav delegation also met yesterday with Richard Cheney, the U.S. secretary of defense. On that occasion, discussed was military-economic cooperation between the two countries, it was learned.

Meets With IMF Chief

LD1410060189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0408 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Washington, October 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic and Michel Camdessus, director-general of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), agreed here Friday evening that an IMF mission, with World Bank experts also serving on it, come to Yugoslavia on October 23 for resuming negotiations on a stand-by arrangement.

In continuation of their talk started last Thursday, Markovic and Camdessus agreed that, parallel with an anti-inflation program, a program be made up for the Yugoslav economy's structural adjustment as the IMF' most important condition.

Such an anti-inflation program will not be made up on the basis of administrative measures, but on the basis of the already known principles of the Yugoslav Government's economic policy.

Among other things, it should cover reducing to zero the growth of public expenditures, maintaining a positive and real interest rate and a real exchange rate of the dinar.

If a stand-by agreement be reached (something already almost certain after the Markovic-Camdessus agreement), the problem of deficit in relation to restructuring Yugoslav banks and enterprises should be tackled immediately.

It has already remarked earlier that a stand-by arrangement concluded with the IMF should be followed by World Bank credits and other forms of economic support in which the Yugoslav Government feels interest.

Earlier in Washington, while talking to Yugoslav journalists, the Yugoslav premier estimated the year 1990 as the most difficult and important year for a further outcome of economic reforms in Yugoslavia.

Arrives in Zagreb

LD1510102889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0826 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic, who has been on a several-day-long visit to the United States, arrived this morning in Zagreb.

At Zagreb airport Markovic was welcomed and greeted by Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the FEC, and

Antun Milovic, president of the Croatian Executive Council. Upon his arrival Markovic gave a press conference. Also at the welcoming ceremony were Branko Zekan, a member of the FEC, Ivica Trnokop, chairman of the Republican Foreign Relations Committee, Zoran Miskovic, secretary general of the FEC, and Douglas Greene, U.S. Consul in Zagreb.

Comments on U.S. Visit

LD1510172289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic said this morning at a press conference at Zagreb Airport that—"the basic aim which we wanted to achieve during the U.S. visit has been achieved." "During the 4-day visit we had exceptionally open and exceptionally friendly and intensive talks."

One climate, he said, which prevailed in practically all circles in U.S. businesses and banks and also in parastatal institutions and world financial institutions, contained certain reservations vis-a-vis the reforms and what is happening in Yugoslavia, from the point of view of political events in our country and inflation. In light of what has been happening in Eastern Europe, especially in Hungary and Poland, it was said that Yugoslavia was in fact lagging behind in its reforms and that it is no longer such an important partner which could interest the United States.

"The talks of these last 4 days have, I dare say, brought about a big turnaround in this sense," Markovic assessed. It was understood that what is happening in Yugoslavia is not sufficiently known in the United States, is not interpreted correctly, and that in factual terms what is progressive and generating the development of this country and resolving its problems and placing it again—both from the point of view of the progressiveness of this development and the changes in the country—toward the forefront of the interests of all countries which are for progress in the world, is not seen. On the other hand, it was realized that the role of Yugoslavia in the Nonaligned Movement, defined at the Belgrade summit along the lines of the reactivation and modernization of the movement and through its role as president during the next 3 years, also gives us a chance to have a greater influence on the world scene.

Markovic said that "the combination of our internal developments, which were assessed very positively with our foreign political developments, is now correctly assessed and was supported at all levels, including the talks with President Bush, which, in the course of 45 minutes, were exceptionally cordial, open, and constructive." Opportunities have opened up for a much more qualitative volume of cooperation with the United States in all areas, which should also create room for the presence of U.S. capital and business in the Yugoslav economy, as well as for our economy in the economy and business life of the United States.

According to Markovic, "there was not one controversial question which we did not succeed in putting on the table and discussing." We tried to explain that there is not one problem in the development of any country which can be resolved overnight, that the changes upon which we have embarked require time, and that the most difficult thing to change is the system itself, because of everything it brings and with inertia. We explained that in Yugoslavia the preconditions have been created—in the period ahead, especially next year, when the decisive battle for the realization of the reforms themselves and the struggle against inflation must take place—for the creation of a critical mass of preconditions for the implementation of the reforms and for halting and bearing down on inflation, and on this basis, for opening up room for a new and completely quality-based development.

Markovic said that three fundamental questions were presented which we must address, something which was understood and on which we are receiving support. In the first instance, this is the economic and social reforms themselves, with everything which they bring with them and which will not be simple to control, including the fact that we are supposed to eliminate inflation by realizing the reforms and with their methods, and not with administrative and state methods. Second, Markovic continued, a new cycle of development should be opened up, with a new economic structure, which will realize greater economic prosperity on the basis of significantly increased labor productivity and the economic efficiency of our economy. And third, we stated that we are developing a political system along the lines of its further democratization, with the human being and his rights to freedom at the center.

In addition to a series of agreements with U.S. bankers and business people—one of the biggest U.S. and world banks adopted the decision to open a mixed bank in Yugoslavia—the delegation and President Markovic also had the opportunity to talk with all the leading officials of the U.S. Administration, the secretaries of trade, defense, finance, Secretary of State Baker, the director of Exim Bank, and the governor of the Central bank.

All these talks, Markovic said, each in their own way clarified our views of world and bilateral developments and trends in our country, and on Friday night we also completed very successful talks with the director of the IMF. As early as next Monday, an IMF team will come to Yugoslavia which, on the basis of frameworks and bases agreed with the director of the IMF, should negotiate a new arrangement with the IMF by the end of this year.

"It is very important that the conception of this agreement is built on the reforms which we are implementing and on the consistent implementation of macroeconomic policy which the FEC has presented to the Federal Assembly, and which is without administrative methods and without such methods as would hamper the reforms," Markovic stressed. Of course, he added, with everything which should stem from the anti-inflationary character of the program proposed to the Federal

Assembly and with its, precise formulation in those parts on which we still have to reach mutual agreement. [sentence as received]

In any event, Markovic assessed, open space now exists for an essential understanding of not only what is happening in our country, but also, on this basis, for an increase in cooperation and trade with the United States, both in banking and in the business area, and in the transfer of technology and the education of people. In addition to this, the readiness also exists for the dispatch of specialists which would help us in the reconstruction of our banking system, economy, and individual activities, including health, in which they have enormous experience. On the other hand, a way has been agreed of how, in the first instance via financial institutions, to give full financial support to the reforms which are being implemented in Yugoslavia, the FEC president said, assessing the overall results of the visit.

Replying to one of the journalists' questions, Ante Markovic said that very difficult talks were conducted in Congress, which we were the only ones diverging from the general tone of all the other meetings. There were all those congressmen who initiated documents in which there were no positive assessments of Yugoslavia.

"They did not spare me, but I didn't spare them", observed Markovic. Questions exclusively about human rights and freedoms, Kosovo, Vojvodina, and Paraga [Dobroslav Paraga, Yugoslav dissident] were posed. This was a very significant part of the talks, and the most important thing, Markovic stressed, is that we explained that in the country we have positive processes, but also accompanying secondary consequences, and that we are campaigning for a system in the center of which will be the individual and his freedoms. We also said that Serbia had to justifiably constitute itself as other repubics have done and that Albanians in Kosovo must have all the rights belonging to them, but that in Kosovo itself there are a minority of Serbs and Montenegrins and that here the task of the majority is to ensure the rights of this minority, those same rights which they are seeking to have in the framework of the majority, Markovic added.

Likewise, he went on to say, when there was insistence on the issues regarding some people who are totally irrelevant to our events, including those people who have been on trial for contact with terrorists, I tried to explain—and I think that they realized that - how it is not clear to me that the United States, which fights terrorism, maintains that political terrorism is not terrorism and that we have enough experience in this matter which warns us that we must be cautious. We also had dinner with another group of congressmen who unreservedly supported the things that are happening in our country, Markovic added. All the other talks also proceeded without attempts to qualify us in a way that did not correspond with the content of our development and the essence of what is happening in the country.

Replying to whether, in the talks with the IMF, a short-term anti-inflationary program was demanded of the FEC—as one could render from some papers' reports—Markovic specified that "no special anti-inflationary program was mentioned."

He stressed that there "was nothing new" outside the framework and the guidelines, about which he spoke in his introductory words, as a basis for a treaty with the IMF, the one that will be negotiated on 23 October. And if you know, Markovic addressed the journalists, what the federal government was saying, then you are familiar with the fact that the recovery of the banking and public sector and the economy must be carried out, as well as transition from finances based on the inflationary sources to real sources.

"This is a U-turn, and to this effect the IMF did not tell us nothing but that it agreed with what we had proposed," Markovic stressed and added that the IMF called on us to resolve deficits in the economy in a slightly quicker way than we believed was possible, but they also agree that this will take the longest time. There is readiness now for reaching an agreement with the IMF by the end of the year. The framework and guidelines have been agreed on, and they include among other things all our commitments such as the real exchange rate and real interest rates. The recovery of the existing situation particularly of the deficit and the prevention of new ones is the most important among all things, FEC president stressed at the end of the press conference.

Sarajevo TV Journalists Interview Markovic

AU1010150289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 89 pp 1, 4

[E. Demirovic report on interview with Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, by a group of journalists on Sarajevo television on 3 October: "Skipping September"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 3 Oct—Last night, Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, was a guest in the Sarajevo television program "Dialogues" in which, besides Sarajevo journalists Ilija Guzina and Zekerijah Smajic, commentators from other Yugoslav television centers also took part: Gordana Susa (Belgrade), Milan Gavrovic (Zagreb), Aleks Stakul (Ljubljana), and Ljubomir Vucicevic (Skopje). In addition to answering the questions by the commentators' questions, Ante Markovic was also answering numerous questions by the viewers from all over the country. The questions related to the most topical and important economic and social issues in Yugoslavia.

This debut, Ante Markovic's first appearance on a television program of this kind, could be described as extremely successful. The president of the Yugoslav Government was answering questions without any "notes." Asked whether he was nervous, Markovic said: "Considering that you have notes in front of you, I would say that you are more nervous than me."

"Of course the Federal Executive Council's program has been improved throughout the last few months, in the last 6 months, and it has taken root. It has already gone through one stage and is now in front of its second stage of realization. Therefore, the program is, I think, quite clearly defined, it knows what it wants, it is dynamic, it contains an order of moves, and so forth," Markovic replied to the first question raised by Zekerijah Smajic. "First of all, we have reached a stage in which inflation's growth primarily depends, not only on the real causes, but also on the causes that are of a long-term nature, causes that require not only a long-term diagnosis and methods of curing, but also everything else that ensues. Therefore, we are not only talking about the real causes of inflation, but also about the so-called psychological factors that affect inflation and so-called inflationary expectations. These inflationary expectations were felt strongly in the past month in particular. They were influenced by many factors. If one of our forums announces its commitment to adopt a firm anti-inflationary program, this too has an impact. This has an immediate impact just as there would have been an impact if I had answered the question by some colleagues of mine, some former colleagues, who phoned and asked me: 'Is there going to be an income freeze, is there going to be a price freeze?'

"This is all normal, there is nothing specifically Yugoslav about it. It accompanies all inflation as do the so-called psychological factors of inflationary expectations at some stage of their development. For instance, during the Zagreb trade fair I also held talks with clothing manufacturers who explained to me why the Italian suits are one half or a third of the price of our suits: 'When we send our suits to shops to sell them we are asked to set a price and to agree to a payment period of 90 to 120 days. Because of these 90 to 120 days, the price is set on the basis of the so-called inflationary expectations and is normally three to four times higher than the producers' prices at that time.' Every customer who buys this suit today or tomorrow pays the price which is three or four times higher than the actual price.

"There are two questions to be answered in this respect," Markovic said to Gordana Susa. "The first one is how to eliminate these inflationary expectations, how to remove this psychological factor, and the second one is a much more difficult and complex question, namely how to eliminate the real causes of inflation. The former is much easier if society is determined to do it. We can eliminate it relatively easily. In my speech in the SFRY Assembly I mentioned 10 points which we need to undertake in order to bring down inflation.

"I do not want to mention all 10 of these points now because they have already been mentioned and reported in the press. However, I would like to point to two or three of them which could now affect the so-called inflationary expectations. First of all, on the basis of the Federal Executive Council's legal right we have introduced new regulations concerning separation, the so-called separation of the cost of goods from the cost of capital so that the cost of capital is not built in the cost of goods, added only when the sale takes place. If this is implemented, then all the products that have built into them these inflationary expectations should be reduced in price three or four times. However, if the buyer were to purchase these goods some time later, their price would be somewhat higher, but not the price which includes inflation from 3 or 4 months ahead."

[Question] How will this be achieved?

[Markovic] We could achieve this because we have the legal right to demand that the cost of goods be separated from the cost of capital. We have agreed on that and have sent teams of inspectors to the field to insist that this separation of the one from the other be carried out this month.

The teams of inspectors have their task and they will make sure that this task is accomplished because one of the consequences of this not being carried out is criminal liability. However, I think that it is much more important to do something else. When I held talks with businessmen at the Zagreb trade fair, there were some 200 leading Yugoslav businessmen. I proposed that, if I may say so, we reach an agreement on eliminating this kind of building in inflationary expectations. But not to bring down the tactical [takticna] inflation, because this inflation requires much more profound moves which we are only making now. I proposed that we reach an agreement according to which they should exclude these inflationary expectations, according to which these expectations should be added on prices in a normal way. I also proposed that we skip the level of inflation formed during this month as the level according to which we should now adjust all instruments in society.

The reason for this is that the rate of inflation, which is said to be 48 percent [in September], forms the basis for establishing the dinar exchange rate, setting interest rates, fixing personal incomes, and so forth. In fact, this rise in inflation does not correspond to the real material cost pressure on inflation. Therefore, everything that will be built onto this will in fact amount to building onto something real. Thus, since this is in our sphere of competence, we in the Federal Executive Council are prepared to retain for the remaining 20 or so days the rate of 28 to 30 percent that existed in the last three months, to retain it until new calculation is made. You know how statisticians work, nobody is registering things, and yet they are supposed to be recording prices. The prices appear to be what have been recorded by them at a particular point in time. In fact, they may have only been raised a day before they were recorded. Moreover, in a meeting with the governors of the National Bank we should also agree to leave the discount rate at the level between 28 and 30 percent and to use this as a basis for reaching an agreement with trade unions on an income policy. We would like them to eliminate these expectations from their prices. We will do our best to eliminate them through the law, by the force of the law. However, I also propose that producers and sellers do not speculate with this and that we skip this month, if I may say so, so that in the next month, which is to say this

month, October, we have the rate of inflation which would correspond to the real inflation and not the inflation which includes inflationary expectations. Listen, one thing is certain, inflation of 28 to 30 percent already includes some inflationary expectations. This rate of inflation is already above the actual inflation.

"The barrage" of questions lasted 2 full hours. Markovic managed with short but clear answers, sometimes with "diplomatic," principled, and skillful answers, especially when the questions came from viewers who could see that the president of the Federal Executive Council "bandies" issues well. Here is a brief illustration:

[Question] Do you expect production and social product to rise next month?

[Markovic] A rise in production will primarily depend on the rate of increase in exports. We must reduce expenditure on the home market. A rise in the social product is in the hands of exports. Excuse me comrades, but we said that you should either stick to the relations that must exist in the market economy, or that we will liberalize imports. It appears now that the producers agree that they themselves should regulate this, because, as they say, if we liberate imports, the Yugoslav ferrous metal industry will be destroyed.

[Question] You never told us what you intend to do with the surplus of $2 billion?

[Markovic] They will be used to create a real commodity market on the Yugoslav market in which we will bring foreign competition. We will also used them to start a new development process.

[Question] You plan to bring down inflation in a short period of time. We are interested in your forecast for the end of the year.

Markovic did not reply.

[Question] Is time really your biggest enemy?

[Markovic] It remains a big enemy. No, no please, we are not only talking about us...but about the fate of the whole nation, the fate of this system, about whether we will build a modern, civilized, cultured, free, democratic, self-managing system or whether we will reintroduce the state regulation, dictatorship....

The journalists again insisted on specific answers to two questions that they thought were the most important: a forecast of the rate of inflation at the end of the year, and who was obstructing "his" ideas and programs.

The president of the Federal Executive Council replied:

Fine, I have clearly answered the part of the first question that can be answered. The part of inflation that is of the psychological nature can be relatively quickly surmounted and some effects could already be seen by the end of the year. The other part requires more elaborate preparations, time, and the moves that are never published.

For instance, when Michael Bruno, the famous creator of the Israeli anti-inflation policy, visited me, he said:

"When we made a decision to check inflation, the first thing the president of our government did was to set up a team to work on it. Nobody except the president of the government knew what this team was doing. The team changed the place of its abode as many as seven times in order to hide the nature of its work. When it ended it job, the work was presented to the narrowest possible circle, and political consensus was achieved. The program was implemented immediately. I am surprised that the people in your country are publicly talking about a shock therapy and so forth. You know that this is pouring oil on the fire of inflation, the psychological part of inflation." Therefore I shall answer your question when the time is right to answer it.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

I Did Not Set Deadlines For Bringing Down Inflation

Answering the question by Zekerijah Smajic concerning the information that inflation in September reached 48 percent, Markovic said:

"Some institution in the Federal Executive Council expressed doubts in this. I am, however, not preoccupied with this at all. I take this to be correct."

Markovic then commented on "expectations" that inflation will start to go down in September, which has not happened, but in fact opposite did.

"I have never mentioned any dates as to when inflation should start to go down. After all, in my speech in the SFRY Assembly last Friday I said that we expected September inflation to be a record."

The Federal Executive Council Has Majority's Support

In the first place I sought consensus via the inauguration and everything that preceded it, and I believe that consensus was there, Markovic answered another question. All the republics, provinces, and the SFRY Assembly unanimously endorsed this mandate, accepted this composition of the Federal Executive Council. I was aware of that, and if you recall, I even said in my inauguration speech that at a certain point in time I could expect social tensions, which will be increasingly pronounced as we proceed deeper into reforms, to activate all the forces that will be threatened by reforms, all those who will lose privileges, all conservative dogmatic forces and a number of other forces that will unite against this program. Therefore, for me this is not something I had not expected. Today, of course, this is no longer a question of consensus, rather of a program that has the majority's support. The program clearly has the majority's support, it received it in the SFRY

Assembly, except from one delegation, if I may say so—although we do not have delegations in the Federal Chamber, the delegates do not work in delegations—except for 23 or 24 speakers. Another 4 or 5 expressed some reservations about the program while the rest did not have any reservations.

Deceived Customers

I must tell you that this kind of selling goods amounts to deceiving customers, because even when the sellers tell their customers that they are selling goods on interest free credit, everything is included in the price. Everything. Moreover, even when the sellers sell to his customers goods with a 20, 30 or 50 percent discount, because they paid in cash, the new price is still at least two times higher that the one the customer should really pay.

About Free Import of Cars

We have embarked on the liberalization of prices, imports, ownership of foreign currency, on general liberalization, and on setting personal incomes. This is part of a deregulation process which we started immediately, right from the beginning, because economic entities should be given their autonomy. In this process we made moves in a certain order. First of all we carried out the liberalization of the imports of raw and production materials. This is logical since we have to ensure production first. We have also considerably reduced taxes and custom duties, as well as import taxes on all goods used for exports, if these exports are 50 percent higher than imports. In this way we have significantly reduced imports for all production, especialiy imports needed for exports. This is why we now have excellent export results, but I will talk about this later.

The next thing following a rise in exports, foreign exchange reserves, foreign exchange inflow (I must mention the fact that when I spoke in the SFRY Assembly our foreign exchange reserves stood at $5 billion and $150 million and that today, the value of foreign exchange reserves is $5 billion and $350 million), and halving short-term borrowing abroad...is the liberalization of imports, the imports of consumer goods. Among these goods are also cars. In addition to that, we have also reduced taxes, duties, and levies by, as I remember, 12 or 20 percent on average. In the case of some products this reduction seems to be much higher. Otherwise, I must tell you that regarding some consumer goods, especially foodstuffs and some other articles, not only have we liberalized their import, we have also permitted a free purchase of foreign currency needed for them. Unfortunately our shops are not importing them.

Markovic's Question

To round off this mosaic of questions heard last night let us also mention that the journalists asked Markovic if he wanted to ask them something, or some of them in particular. Markovic replied:

"There are many things that I would like to ask you. You come from different television centers and I could ask you about relations in your television organizations. Are you really in the position to work as part of free society in which the public information media should above all be expert, professionally accountable for what they do? Are your organizations carrying out their work conscientiously or not? Or perhaps it would be better if I did not ask you that."

The journalists replied: We share the fate of social ownership.

This seems to be a fairly correct answer, Markovic replied.

Chances for Markovic's Policies Viewed

AU0710200989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 89 p 2

[Djoko Kesic commentary: "Political Prisoner"]

[Text] The slim hope that the political shock of the adoption of amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia would sober up all of the irrational political aggravations in the country, and that reason would be turned toward the economic and social reform that is being offered by the federal government as the only firm, cohesive factor in the country lasted a very short period of time. Mistrust continues to be the main subject of political talks in the country, and the federal government has almost no hopes of withdrawing from the front line of these conflicts.

It is, in fact, difficult to imagine what sort of shock and how strong a shock could shift the relations between political forces in the country, from which a serious and democratic dialogue would emerge concerning what kind of Yugoslavia we want and how we will begin to construct it. One thing is quite clear: Yugoslavia is still not ready for radical social and economic reform, at least not for the reform that is demanded by these times and modern international practice. In our everyday political life, besides the periodical "culprits," and the more frequent periodical "culprits" in the other republics and provinces, the main and constant culprit is the Federal Executive Council [FEC]. For many people it continues to be a synonym for inexpertness and bad intentions, and is even "the main culprit because the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer."

What is the true position of the federal government and what can it objectively do at this moment?

Nothing spectacular happened at last week's session of the two Assembly chambers, where Premier Ante Markovic's speech was heard. According to expectations and despite general political criticism of the anti-inflationary measures of the federal government, in which the delegates did not exceed their objective possibilities—they did not even attempt to analyze the possible consequences of the new

economic measures for the country's economy—the delegates accepted the proposals of the FEC.

It was to be expected that the delegates would talk a lot about inflation and the need for a "comprehensive anti-inflationary program which would crush inflation in a short period of time," of course without explanations of what this program would contain and whether real conditions existed for its realization. However, these are the objective possibilities of this composition of the federal delegate assembly. It is thus difficult to believe that Ante Markovic and his program "survived" thanks to the political tension that was caused by the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

The only surprise that took place appeared in the form of political concessions: The FEC announced the adoption of a "mini anti-inflationary program," to which the delegates replied with the concession of putting wages in fifth place on the list of obligatory payments by enterprises, as the FEC had demanded.

Inflation, the heaviest stone around the neck of both Ante Markovic's economic policy and every enterprise and citizen, is not considered in our daily life as an economic, but a political category. It is not viewed as the consequence that emerges from the economic and political system, but as a political intention or, virtually, as the aim of the federal government. The delegates in the SFRY Assembly and the political leadership of this country do not accept the proposal of the FEC that a discussion should be conducted about the necessary changes in the political system and about social reform as the inevitable foundation for realizing economic reform, whose aim is a market economy. The delegates do not agree to reply to the question—which economic policy and which FEC would be capable of bringing down inflation when almost all economic power is still in the hands of politicians, when the question of the existence or nonexistence of the market, goods boycotts, goods sales, and the flow of money is a matter for political decisions by the republican and provincial authorities.

The economic policy measures that the FEC is offering are difficult to defend and even more difficult to condemn. According to the general views of economic experts, they are appropriate to an economy which has a market and to a state in which elementary laws on values and laws on capital function. However, objectively speaking, they have no chance of being tested in our practice in the right way. The federal government which receives far more political and financial support abroad than at home is, in fact, the only one to advocate economic and social reform and to seek support for the economic policy measures in the political unity of the country for this reform. However, it is not getting this support, and as things stand, it will be hard for it to get it in the foreseeable future.

In short, the FEC continues to be a prisoner of the divided policies of eight League of Communists parties and as many states. What program would suit this environment and this set-up of forces?

Slovene Delegate Proposes Youth Body Dissolution

AU1110081989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] At its session held in Zagreb, the Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia decided to form a committee for the preparation of the 13th congress of the Youth Organization. During the debate which lasted 8 hours, one could hear the already known stands of the representatives of republican and provincial youth organizations. Here is Vesna Dabic reporting from Zagreb:

The delegates of the Federal Conference of the Youth of Yugoslavia have adopted the guidelines of the activities to be performed by the time of the 13th congress. The committee for the preparation of the biggest meeting of the young people will consist of 39 members to represent republics and provinces, social organizations, and the young people in the Yugoslav People's Army. The proceedings were opened to elect 10 Slovene delegates to the Federal Conference to replace those who had resigned. The Slovene Youth Organization can chose whether it will accept this initiative and carry out the elections.

The republican and provincial organizations were left the choice of whether they will discuss the Slovene suggestion that the Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia be dissolved. This suggestion was expounded upon by Slovene Youth President Joze Skoljc, who said that the highest youth forum had shown several times that it is only a dead body. If we want a new organization, Skoljc said, 10 October would be the best time to dissolve the conference and thus mark the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Federation of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia in an appropriate way.

The Presidium still does not have a new member from Kosovo. Zoran (?Stijovic), who had not received the sufficient number of votes at the previous session of the conference and was proposed again by the youth of the province, was not elected today either.

Discontented by such an outcome of the ballot, Dobri Sabani, delegate from Kosovo, tendered his resignation saying that the election of their delegate to the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia has been deliberately prevented at the federal level for the last 3 months.

As a Presidium member, Zoran (?Stijovic) should have performed the function of the secretary of the highest leadership of the Yugoslav Youth Organization.

Proposal To Change Socialist Alliance Viewed

AU1110083389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] The Ljubljana Faculty of Sociology, Journalism, and Political Science, which has been the source of many pluralist and multiparty ideas and projects, today cooked up the proposal to transform the Socialist Alliance into the

Alliance of Socialists of Slovenia. The proposal was presented and elaborated by Dr Bostjan Markic, teacher at this faculty. Relja Atanasijevic will provide more details:

The idea of transforming the Socialist Alliance into the Alliance of Socialists is not new on the Slovene pluralist political scene, where extreme championing of a multiparty system could already be seen. However, Dr Bostjan Markic presented this idea as his own proposal in today's Ljubljana DELO and tried to expound on it from a scientific theoretical standpoint. His starting point is that to withdraw from pluralism in fact means to withdraw from the emancipationist tendencies connected with socialism. He therefore reproaches the leadership of the Socialist Alliance for hesitating too much in transforming and modernizing the organization and at the same time warns that its role as an umbrella and contact organization cannot bring any results.

Dr Bostjan Markic therefore suggests that the Socialist Alliance should be transformed into the Alliance of Socialists whose program credo would read as follows: For Democracy and Creation of a Richer Life in Slovenia. He adds that in this way one would take a step forward toward political pluralism, because the Alliance of Socialists would become an organization with a specific membership and not anonymous members coming from different organizations and political alliances, as is the case now with the Socialist Alliance of Working People.

The point of Dr Bostjan Markic's proposal lies in the following assertion: If one really wants to achieve the assembly rule, then the parliament and not the Socialist Alliance is the right place to coordinate ideas and seek political balance. On the basis of this assertion, he concludes that only in this way will the Alliance of Socialists of Slovenia become a political channel for coordinating and expressing political balance.

The representatives of the Republican conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia said for our listeners today that the transformation of their organization into the Alliance of Socialists of Slovenia is out of question, because they have no intention of giving up its role as a mass organization and a place for presenting and coordinating programs of political factors on a pluralist scene. A short-term program of the activities of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia until the next elections has already been prepared.

Slovene Daily Views 'Milosevic's Camp'

AU1110140789 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 Oct 89 p 2

[Danilo Slivnik commentary: "Clockwork Orange"]

[Text] **We do not want provoke anyone, but you must admit that in recent days you certainly must have asked yourselves many times what those in Milosevic's camp have really been up to during the latest political battles. The fact is that all kinds of things have been heard, ranging from some reports that after the latest all-night session of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee some quick "internal disciplining" actions were taken because of clumsy statements and actions during discussions at the plenum and the lost battle with the Slovenes, to some other reports that the casting of votes at the latest session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which discussed Stefan Korosec and his talks with the Prague communists, had the effect of a veritable shock because for the first time after a year and half the Serbian party leadership was left nearly completely isolated.**

True, he, Milosevic, continues to keep silent, which for some is a good omen but for others less so because, as a rule, nothing good has ever come from silence in authoritarian systems. But on the other hand he is not suffering any harm and it is not true at all that some time ago shots were fired at him, as it was rumored among those ordinary people who are always inclined to exaggerate. The fact is that in recent days he has appeared, not once but twice, alive and well before the television cameras at the same time as his closest associates—that is, those who contributed most to the rise of his cult of personality in the early months of the Serbian "antibureaucratic revolution"—were quite abundantly taking care of his speeches for him. It is true, however, that in recent days the people in Milosevic's camp have become quite nervous and that this nervousness is already having a pretty bad effect on their political judgment and decisions. It is really quite impossible to explain otherwise the unexpected political stroke by which they tried to settle accounts once and for all with Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. But in this settling of accounts they flatly failed along the entire front, just as they failed in some smaller matters in recent time.

It is no longer of any importance at this time when they decided to mount an attack on Korosec, either immediately after the latest plenum or perhaps already during the plenum after Korosec had spoken frankly about the situation in the Presidium. It is, however, no secret that their political shot was intended to be a moral plaster for the wound inflicted on them in their battle with Slovene politics in connection with the adoption of the constitutional amendments to the Slovene Constitution. And thus the smooth-running mechanism was set in motion once again, the mechanism which has already produced quite a few cadre coups in Yugoslav politics during the past year and which, in the circumstances of the latest maneuvering in the SFRY Presidency, moved our state dangerously close to political putschism. But—you will not believe this—members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium cast their votes once again. But this time the votes were not 7 to 8 or 6 to 9 as they had mostly been in the past whenever the agenda included some topics (or personalities) about which no reasonable accord was possible, but instead—as we have learned from Belgrade circles—they were 11 to 4 against the Serbian policy. As it turned out, only two members of the Presidium, Nedeljko Sipovac and Rahman Morina, that is two of the closet allies of the newly composed "heavy-handed" Serbian policy, supported the Serbian demand to condemn Korosec for his talks with representatives of the CSSR Communist Party or to even relieve him of his

position as secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium because he had allegedly adopted a one-sided approach in these talks. All others, including the representative of the Yugoslav People's Army, cast their votes against it....

Thus Milosevic's camp has suddenly found itself rather in an unpleasant position and the first serious gaps in its system of political obstructionism and of undermining of legal social institutions have become more evident than on any past occasion. We really do not know whether some "internal disciplining" actions were again the order of the day in Belgrade after the Wednesday session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium or, let us say, who may have been the one that trembled the most in this connection, but we can say almost with absolute certainty that certain external elements of Milosevic's authoritarian politics have lost all their significance: It would be hard to find anyone who may still shudder in dread because of meetings of support or protests in other parts of Yugoslavia and the Serbian media's war has turned into a veritable burlesque which harms the Serbian people the most because they are no longer correctly informed about most events throughout the country.

Of course, we must frankly say that many of the things would not be as they are at this moment if representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army, too, had not come in recent days and realized that their attitude had been somewhat too one-sided in recent months and if they did not now resolutely disassociate themselves from this attitude. Thus Milosevic's camp has finally found itself where it should have been long ago: In the open political arena where there is no a priori Yugoslav policy but only democratic or autocratic ideas. The Serbian ideas regrettably fall in the latter category. In these last few days even some people in his closest circle certainly must also have realized this fact.

Of course, the greatest consolation in this connection is the fact that henceforth the "voting automatism" according to the notorious principle of "Comrades, do not put your hands down; we are voting again...!" is not likely to be valid in the LCY Presidium any longer.

Macedonian LC Plenum Deemed 'Unpleasant'

AU1010161989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 89 p 4

[N. Batkoski report: "An Apartment As A Suitable Trump Card"]

[Excerpt] Skopje, 3 Oct—Yesterday's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Macedonia continued into the early hours of the morning. The discussion on the programs of the candidates for posts in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia [LCM] and the Central Committee of the LC of Yugoslavia from Macedonia lasted longest, but there was also a discussion on the initiative of the Communal Committee of the LC of the Skopje "Karpos" commune that members of the basic LC organizations should vote in direct and secret elections for the presidents and secretaries of the communal committees, City Committee, and Central Committee of the LCM before the final elections at the LC conferences and the congress of the LCM.

A tumultuous discussion and polemical tones—in which the strongest impression was left by the attempt to decide whether there had been or there is a quarrel and disagreement between Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Central Committee of the LCM, and Vasil Kostojcinovski, president of the City Committee of the LC of Skopje—was caused by the report on the last session of the City Committee of the LC of Skopje (on 28 September) at which Svetomir Skaric, member of the Presidium of the LCM Central Committee, challenged Vasil Kostojcinoski's nomination for candidate for the LCM Central Committee and Kostojcinski said that the president of the LCM Central Committee was exerting pressure on him.

At the end of the discussion on electoral activity, lists were established of candidates for members of the LCM Central Committee and the Statutory and Supervisory Commission of the LCM, as well as lists of possible candidates for members of the Central Committee of the LC of Yugoslavia. Jakov Lazaroski, currently president of the LCM Central Committee, withdrew from the list of candidates for member of the Central Committee of the LC of Yugoslavia, explaining this move with the fact that in the last 3 and ½ years, as president of the Macedonian party, he has in practical terms been a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Yugoslavia and constantly participated in its work.

Criticism From the Grass Roots

Jezdimir Bogdanski, currently president of the Presidium of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, Dragoljub Stavrev, currently member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, Dr Vulnet Starova, president of the Macedonian Assembly, and Gligorije Gogovski, president of the Republican Executive Council, withdrew from this list with the explanation from the Commission for Cadre Preparations for the 10th Congress of the LCM, that officials from state organs should not be nominated for the next congress. It is interesting to mention, however, that they and Jakov Lazaroski had been on the lists which had previously been presented to the basic LC organizations which voted on them, and that they had been criticized in a considerable number of basic LC organizations (between 30 and 100) and that even some communal committees had made critical comments about their nomination on the basis of these assessments.

Petre Georgievski, currently member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCM, who was nominated for president of the Central Commitee of the LCM after a proposal by the University Organization of the Skopje LC, withdrew his nomination. Petar Gosev, currently member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCM, and Mihail Danev, currently secretary in the

Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCM, remain as the proposed candidates for the president of the Central Committee of the LCM.

The initiative of the Communal Committee of the "Karpos" LC was partly accepted because delegates at the communal electoral conferences of the LC will also take a secret vote on candidates for the highest party posts, which has not been the practice so far.

Despite the long and at times unpleasant debate, the session of the Central Committee of the LCM, also discussed the case of Vasil Kostojcinoski concerning the apartment that he received in 1964 from the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs, where he was working at the time, and in which his mother continued to live after he received a second socially-owned apartment in Belgrade after 8 years of service in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. [passage omitted]

Macedonian Ecological Society Opposes Polluter

AU1610095889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Oct 89 p 14

[I.K. report: "Award to a Polluter"]

[Text] The Coordination Committee for Social Rewards of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Macedonia recently received a demand from the newly founded first ecological society in Macedonia, "Survival," based in Skopje, that the proposal for awarding the Skopje OHIS Chemical Plant with the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] award should be withdrawn. Members of the society explain why they took this step by citing the fact that OHIS is one of the biggest polluters of the human environment in Macedonia, and therefore it does not deserve such a prominent award. It is also directly responsible for polluting a well in the village of Dracevo in the Skopje region and for killing fish in the Vardar River, because of which court proceedings are being held in the district Commercial Court.

We were told at the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Macedonia that a proposal on an award can be withdrawn only by those who made the proposal, and in this case it is the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Skopje Mineral Water Commune which did so.

Sukovic Comments on Redefining Self-Management

AU0910133589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Oct 89 p 2

[Mijat Sukovic article, first part: "How the Place and the Role of Self-Management Is To Be Redefined in the New SFRY Constitution in Keeping With New Social Precepts: Theory Defeated by Practice"]

[Text] The reforms carried out and realistically expected in the sphere of property relations, the position of the factors in the economy, the relations within them and among them, and the relations in the sphere of banking and finances, have created and are creating a new socioeconomic foundation of Yugoslavia's social system. It is composed of (1) pluralism of ownership forms and (2) the market system of economic operations, in which all the factors of production are valued by the market.

The process has begun and is developing marked by (1) a disappearance of the monopoly of the League of Communists in the decisionmaking processes, and (2) the arrival of political pluralism, which does not exclude an appearance of multi-party pluralism although it is expected that it will not grow into a multi-party system of how power is constituted, a system of multi-party parliamentarianism. New supporting pillars of the political system of Yugoslavia are thus emerging.

New Conditions—A New Chance

The said changes modify the content of the present strategy of creating socialism. They also modify the concepts of the content, the possible scope, and the sense of socialism at the end of the 20th century. In essence, a historical turnabout is being made in the constitutional system, ideology, theory, economics, and politics.

Social power is being rearranged within the coordinates of the new economic foundation and the supporting pillars of the political system. All this entails, and must entail, great repercussions for self-management, its concept, place, and role in Yugoslavia's new social system established with the reforms. The new technological and development currents also pose, and even dictate, new requirements for self-management and open up new chances and new possibilities.

Significant corrections have been introduced in the concept of the present self-management in Yugoslavia in real life. By establishing the market form of economic operations and the pluralism of ownership forms (which is historically conditioned and justified), and the new entrepreneurship forms of work organization, the space formerly allocated to self-management has been restricted. The social position and role of a number of social factors that have favored self-management has been changed. The new systemic regulations have (justifiedly) strengthened the position of managers and professional organizational units. Even now, at this moment, self-management is not a lever, is not a factor of the social system with the place and the role designed for it by the social system established in the late sixties and during the seventies. Nobody, for instance, mentions self-management as an integral form of society organization any longer. One also talks less and less about self-management as a production relationship.

Assessments by individuals that self-management is a mistake have also been publicly stated. Individuals and numerically small political associations and alliances have voiced requests that self-management should be abandoned. The requests have been supported by four assertions: (1) in the past period, self-management showed and demonstrated

that it was uneconomical, unproductive, and unsuccessful; (2) self-management is the generator of the crisis of Yugoslav society; (3) the trust of the workers and the people in self-management has fallen and their hopes for it are small, and therefore they no longer accept it; (4) self-management cannot exist together with the market forms of economic operations, the pluralism of the forms of ownership, and political pluralism.

All this imposes the obligation that in the process of determining the overall concept of the social reforms, self-management, its socioeconomic content, and its scope should be radically redefined in the new SFRY Constitution from the standpoint of the newly adopted social precepts, in a profoundly learned manner and properly formulated, and in a new "nonideological" way.

Unsuccessful Variation

The variation of self-management in Yugoslavia, constitutionally and legally formed at the end of the sixties and during the seventies, has in practice shown to be uneconomical, socially unproductive, and to a great extent unsuccessful. The reasons can be found in the errors in the ideological and normatively set concept of this variation of self-management and in the expansion and deepening of these errors in practice.

The most significant errors in this variation of self-management consist of self-management being shaped as a concept independent of the content of commodity production laws and to no small extent opposed to this content, instead of the content of these laws having been taken into consideration when self-management was being shaped, and self-management having been made to vitally complement the laws of commodity production.

The error of the present concept of self-management lies in setting up a gigantic irrational institutional structure of self-management. The error also lies in making self-management all-inclusive, in the precept that it should be "total" and that it should embrace even the spheres of security organs, of the judiciary, and of administration, where it has no place to be.

Practice has confirmed and multiplied the errors, illusions, and shortcomings of the normatively determined concept of self-management. Its practical realization has led to the establishment of a formalized, strongly bureaucratized self-management directed by non-self-managing factors. It has led to self-management which has been reduced to the field of distribution despite its conceptual all-inclusiveness; that has harmfully fragmented Yugoslav society and its economy, and has enabled individuals and groups to extensively manipulate self-managing institutions in order to appropriate social resources and to take from society "as much as possible and everything possible, but giving society as little as possible"; that has generated and made possible a tremendous increase in an unproductive administrative apparatus which gradually grew into a bureaucratic ruling stratum in the economy and in society; and that has generated the need for a bureaucratic statist and political party bureaucratic arbitration and directing in the decisionmaking processes. It has thus led to self-management which has neither increased nor ensured the rule by workers and citizens, nor their essential or decisive influence on the overall development of Yugoslav society and its composite parts, but has made it possible that the leading role in society is played by an autonomous and bureaucratized executive, profession, and administrative apparatus in the economy, in the leaderships of the League of Communists, and in state organs.

"Trump" for Crisis

It is therefore true that life has confirmed the lack of success of self-management in its variation set up in Yugoslavia at the end of the sixties and during the seventies, and that this variation of self-management has been visibly defeated. However, this is no proof of the lack of constructiveness or the lack of prospects of self-management in general. It is no evidence of the defeat or the collapse of the original Marxist idea of self-management. It is not, and it cannot be, a basis for denying the value and the historical significance of self-management as an idea, as a movement, and as a form of social relations and management, nor can it be a basis for Yugoslav society renouncing its self-managing precepts of 4 decades, and its decision to elevate self-management to the level of a constitutional category and one of the strategic pillars of the Yugoslav social system.

Although self-management in its present form has functioned uneconomically, inefficiently, and with various deviations, this is no proof that it is the only or the chief generator of the present Yugoslav crisis. Such an assertion has no basis either in science or in empirical fact. On the contrary, two sets of facts indicate the opposite conclusion:

First, the variation of self-management in Yugoslavia, as established by the end of the sixties and during the seventies, is only one of several possible variations of self-management, and one of several possible variations of the elaboration and realization of the original Marxist idea about self-management. Therefore its defeat and its failure do not exclude the possibility that another variation of self-management, more realistic and scientifically shaped, suited to the demands of time and to the conditions that exist in Yugoslavia, could be socially successful, efficient, and productive, both in the field of economics and in the field of political relations.

Second, the crisis in Yugoslavia is not isolated. All societies in the world that are creating socialism, without establishing and realizing self-management, and many other societies all over the world are beset by crisis. This shows that deeper, tectonic, epoch-making disturbances have occurred in the world, and they have caused a crisis all over the world. The fact of these disturbances in the world has also influenced the genesis of the crisis in Yugoslavia.

The crisis in Yugoslavia has also been caused by numerous internal factors ranging from the forms of ownership to political disunity; from the rise and the autarkic disposition of national republican oligarchies to

the disabling of the federation so that it cannot successfully carry out the functions allotted to it by the Constitution; from an unreasonable paralysis of the creative forces and idleness to an uneconomic and dysfunctional organization of work. In short, the crisis in Yugoslavia was caused by, along with the disturbances in the world, the uneconomic, dysfunctional, and inefficient "social totality," and not only or primarily by self-management.

Government Short-Term Anti-Inflation Moves Noted

LD1210133589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1142 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Government has decided to resort to certain administrative measures, with a view to quickly cutting inflation, whose monthly rate for September stood at a record high 48 percent.

The measures do not mean that the federal government is abandoning its policy of the liberalization of prices, interest rates and the dinar's exchange rate, as the Federal Secretariat for Information has underscored. The measures are provisional and part of a programme for checking inflation which could place in question the implementation of the programme of economic reforms. The annual inflation rate [words indistinct] percent at the end of September.

The government's calculations show that the inflation rate for September was inflated in anticipation of a price and pay freeze. As a result of the anticipated freeze, for instance, the prices of textiles were between 200 and 300 percent higher than they should have been. The federal government plans to lower the monthly inflation rate to 28 percent in October. It has therefore, taken a decision for the interest rates and the dinar's exchange rate to be formed on the basis of an inflation rate of around 30 percent, or the average inflation rate for the past three months. That means that the dinar's exchange rate wil be kept at a level 15 percent lower than the real rate.

The Yugoslav Government will at the same time help the domestic consumer by importing around 400 different types of consumer goods, mostly from countries with which Yugoslavia has a trade surplus. The imported goods will be lower priced than the (?domestic). Inspectors are also greatly to help cut prices by drawing a line between the prices of goods and the price of capital on the market.

The Yugoslav Federal Government remains committed to a restrictive monetary policy. As far as personal incomes are concerned, it is recommending only minor corrections, required to prevent an unrealistic growth of personal incomes from further raising inflation. A shift to an entirely new system of remuneration is expected in March next year. Until then the cabinet of Federal Premier Markovic is to draw up a respective bill on the model of the collective agreements recently introduced under a new law on labour relations.

A team of government experts is now working on a bill on ownership relations, which is to resolve the disputed issue of titular state ownership. If the bill is passed, an end will be put to restrictions on ownership of real estate, enabling foreigners, too, to own real estate in Yugoslavia.

9-Month Import-Export Results Published

AU1210163089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "Success in September"]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Oct—In relation to the same period last year, the Yugoslav economy in the first 9 months of this year increased its exports to the hard currency area by 12.8 percent. In absolute terms, the exports to this area exceeded $7 billion and $470 million. Exports to the clearing account area were reduced by 4 percent.

The total exports for 9 months earned $9 billion and $364 million. September was particularly successful. Exports to the hard currency area in September increased by 29.6 percent. The total imports increased by 26.3 percent.

In the first 9 months the value of imports was $10 billion and $30 million which is 11 percent more than in the same period last year. Imports from the hard currency area were worth $8 billion and $57 million, or 15 percent more, while imports from the clearing account area were worth $1 billion and $972 million, or 2.6 percent less than in the first 9 months of last year.